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THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of Learning in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449, *to the landing of William duke of Normandy,* A. D. 1066.

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Plan of this chapter.

THE hiſtory of learning in unlearned ages (like thoſe we are now delineating) is naturally a barren and unpleaſant ſubject, and can hardly be rendered both entertaining and inſtructive by any art. If the author contents himſelf with general obſervations, his work will not be inſtructive or ſatisfactory to the inquiſitive; and if he enters deep into critical inveſtigations, it will become tedious to the bulk of readers. In a general hiſtory, where learning is only one of many ſubjects introduced, it

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ſeems moſt adviſable to ſteer a middle courſe, and endeavour to give as much ſatisfaction to the learned as poſſible, without diſguſting others. It will be neceſſary alſo, to prevent confuſion in this period (which is long as well as dark), to divide it into the ſeveral centuries of which it conſiſted; giving a conciſe account,—of the ſtate of learning,—of the moſt learned men,—and of the chief ſeminaries of learning,—in each of theſe centuries, in their natural order.

State of learning from A.D. 449 to A.D. 500.

After learning had flouriſhed in provincial Britain, from the end of the firſt to the middle of the fourth century, it then began to decline, and by various means (mentioned in the concluſion of the fourth chapter of the firſt book of this work) was reduced to a very languiſhing ſtate, before the arrival of the Saxons [1]. A few of the unhappy Britons, amidſt all the calamities of their country, retained a love to learning, and endeavoured to cheriſh the expiring light of ſcience; but their hiſtory is ſo blended with fables, by the ignorant zeal of thoſe dark ages, in which nothing was thought great that was not incredible, that it is impoſſible to diſcover the real extent of their knowledge. How many ſtrange ſtories, for example, are told of the birth, prophecies, and magical feats of the famous Merlin, which are not worth repeating, and proceeded from nothing but his poſſeſſing a greater degree of knowledge than his cotemporaries [2].

[1] See vol. 2. p. 93, 94. [2] Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p. 42.

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The ſame may be ſaid of Melchin, Magan, and ſeveral other Britiſh philoſophers; who, having received their education in the Roman ſchools, were admired as magicians by their countrymen [3]. They knew more indeed of mechanics, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, and ſome other parts of learning, than the age in which they lived was commonly acquainted with; though it is very probable, that their knowledge was not extenſive. Some few of the Chriſtian clergy alſo among the Britons, at this time, were a little more learned, or rather leſs ignorant, than their brethren, which hath procured them a place in the annals of their country. Among theſe, Illutus a preſbyter, and Dubricius a biſhop, both diſciples of St. Germanus, were moſt diſtinguiſhed. Theſe two, by the direction of their maſter, eſtabliſhed ſchools for the education of youth; in which they preſided, with great honour to themſelves and advantage to their country. Dubricius had the chief care of two of theſe ſeminaries of learning, ſituated at Hentland and Mochrhos, on the river Wye, and ſo well frequented, that they ſometimes contained no fewer than a thouſand ſtudents. Illutus taught with equal ſucceſs and reputation, at a place, from him, called *Lantwit*, near Boverton in Glamorganſhire. In theſe ſchools many of the greateſt ſaints and moſt eminent prelates of thoſe times received their education [4].

[3] Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p. 41. 49.
[4] Carte's Hiſt. v. 1. p. 185, &c.

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The Saxons enemies to learning.

It is in vain to ſeek for learning, or learned men, among the Saxons, at their arrival in Britain. For though they were not abſolute ſtrangers to the uſe of letters; yet, like all the other northern nations, they were ſo much addicted to plundering and piratical expeditions, that they utterly deſpiſed the peaceful purſuits of ſcience [5]. Their arrival, therefore, in this iſland, was ſo far from being favourable to the cauſe of learning, that the very laſt ſparks of it were almoſt quite extinguiſhed in all thoſe parts of it where their arms prevailed; in which the moſt profound darkneſs reigned till after the introduction of Chriſtianity.

State of learning in the ſixth century among the Anglo-Saxons.

England was a ſcene of ſo much confuſion and miſery in the ſixth century, that learning could not be cultivated in it with any ſucceſs. For during the whole courſe of that century war raged with little intermiſſion, the ſword was hardly ever ſheathed, and the ancient inhabitants, after a long and bloody ſtruggle, were either extirpated, enſlaved, or expelled their country. A great part of Britain had indeed been conquered by the Romans; but theſe polite and beneficent conquerors inſtructed and improved thoſe whom they had ſubdued. The Saxons, being a fierce illiterate people, acted a very different part, and their deſtructive progreſs was marked with darkneſs and deſolation. Theſe obſervations are ſo true, that there was not ſo much as one perſon

5 Hickeſii Theſaur. Præfat. ad l. 2.

poſſeſſed

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poſſeſſed of any degree of literary fame who flouriſhed in England in the ſixth century. In this diſmal period, therefore, we muſt look for any little glimmerings of ſcience that were ſtill left in Britain, among the mountains of Wales and Caledonia.

Among the other Britiſh nations.

Great numbers of Britiſh young men received a learned education in the ſchools eſtabliſhed by Dubricius and Illutus; but, deſpairing of encouragement, or even ſafety, at home, the greateſt part of them abandoned their native country, and ſettled in different places of the continent, but chiefly in Britanny; where ſome of them were advanced to the higheſt ſtations in the church. One of the moſt illuſtrious of theſe was Samſon who became archbiſhop of Dole, and is ſaid to have been one of the moſt learned, as well as pious prelates, of the age in which he lived [6]. Thoſe ſcholars of Dubricius and Illutus who remained in Britain, prevented the total extinction of literature in this iſland, and are on that account entitled to a place in hiſtory; though we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that their erudition was very great. Gildas the hiſtorian was one of theſe, and is the only Britiſh author of the ſixth century whoſe works are publiſhed [7]. He was ſo much admired in the dark age in which he flouriſhed, that he obtained the appellation of *Gildas the Wiſe*, though his works do not ſeem to entitle

[6] Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p. 69.
[7] Hiſtor. Britan. Script. a Gale edit. t. 1. p. 5.

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him to that diſtinction. His hiſtory of Britain is a very ſhort jejune performance, only valuable for its antiquity, and from our total want of better information. His ſatirical epiſtle concerning the Britiſh princes and clergy of his own times, diſcovers him to have been a man of a gloomy querulous diſpoſition; for it is hardly poſſible to believe that they were all ſuch odious miſcreants as he repreſents them. The ſtyle of both theſe works is very involved and tumid, and muſt give us a very unfavourable idea of the taſte of that age in which ſuch a writer was admired. St. Theleaus; St. David, the firſt biſhop of Menevia, from him called *St. David's;* St. Aſaph, the firſt biſhop of the ſee of that name; Daniel, the firſt biſhop of Bangor, and ſeveral other ſaints and biſhops who flouriſhed in Wales in this century, are ſaid to have been eminent for their learning as well as piety; and they probably were ſo, according to the meaſure and taſte of the times in which they lived.

Among the Scots.

It hath been keenly diſputed by the Scotch and Iriſh antiquaries, whether Columbanus, a learned monk and writer of the ſixth century, was born in Scotland or Ireland[8]. The truth ſeems to be, that there were two of that name, the one an Iriſhman, and biſhop of Laghlin; the other a Scotchman, founder of the abbey of Luxevill in France, and of that of Bobio in

[8] Vide Leland, Bale, Pits de Script. Britan. Ware de Sript. Hiber. t. 1. Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, p. 17.

Italy.

Italy. This laſt was educated in the famous monaſtery of Iona; from whence he went into France, A. D. 589, accompanied by twelve other monks, and there founded the abbey of Luxevill, near Beſançon, which he governed about twenty years with great reputation. When he was in this ſtation, he was attacked by the Pope, Gregory the Great, for obſerving Eaſter at a different time from the church of Rome, and wrote ſeveral letters and tracts in defence of his own practice, and that of his country. He compoſed, for the government of his own monks, a ſyſtem of laws, which were ſo ſevere, that if any of them ſmiled in the time of divine ſervice, he was to receive fifty laſhes with a whip. By another of theſe laws, his monks were obliged to meet three times every night in the church, and at each time to ſing thirty-ſix pſalms and twelve anthems. If they regularly obſerved this rule, they would not be much diſpoſed to ſmile. Theoderic king of France was for ſome time a great admirer of Columbanus; but that auſtere abbot at length offended him ſo much by the ſeverity of his reproofs, that the prince obliged him to quit the kingdom. After ſpending a few years in Switzerland, in labouring, with ſome ſucceſs, to convert the people to Chriſtianity, he retired in his old age into Lombardy; where he founded the abbey of Bobio, in which he died A. D. 615[s]. It ſeems to be quite unneceſſary to ſwell this part Cent. VI.

[s] Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, p. 17. Murat. Antiq. t. 3. p. 826.

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of our work with a more particular account of the literati of this moſt unhappy and benighted age. For though ſome of them might be men of real genius; yet the wretched taſte of the times in which they lived, the great difficulty of procuring good books and good maſters, with many other diſadvantages under which they laboured, prevented their arriving at much excellence in any of the ſciences. The truth is, that the only parts of learning that were much cultivated by the Britiſh and Scotch clergy of this century were,—the Latin language,—polemical divinity,—and eccleſiaſtical law; and a very ſmall portion of theſe was ſufficient to procure any one the character of a very learned man.

State of learning in the ſeventh century among the Anglo-Saxons.

The converſion of the Anglo-Saxons to Chriſtianity, in the courſe of the ſeventh century, contributed not a little to enlighten their minds, and promote the intereſts of learning, as well as of religion, in England. Before that event, there was no ſuch thing as learning, or any means of obtaining it, in that part of Britain which they inhabited, which was involved in the moſt profound darkneſs. Their ancient religion was groſs and irrational in its principles, cruel and ſanguinary in its ceremonies, and had a tendency to inſpire them with nothing but a brutal contempt of death, and a ſavage delight in war. As long, therefore, as they continued in the belief and practice of that wretched ſuperſtition, they ſeem to have been incapable either of ſcience or civility; but by their converſion to Chriſ-

tianity, they became acceſſible to both. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the ſyſtem of Chriſtianity in which the Anglo-Saxons were inſtructed at their converſion was far from being pure and genuine; but ſtill it contained many valuable diſcoveries, concerning—the perfections and providence of the one living and true God,—the nature of religious worſhip,—and the rules of moral conduct, to which they had been abſolute ſtrangers. By their embracing chriſtianity, they were naturally led to enquiries and ſpeculations on theſe and various other ſubjects, which could not fail both to enlighten and enlarge their minds, and render them capable both of literary and religious improvements. Before their converſion to Chriſtianity, the Anglo-Saxons ſeem to have had little or no intercourſe except in the way of hoſtility, with any other nations who could inſtruct or civilize them; but by that event a friendly communication was opened between them and Rome, which was then the chief ſeat of learning in Europe[10]. Beſides all this, ſuch of the firſt Anglo-Saxon converts as deſigned to embrace the clerical profeſſion (of which there were many), were obliged to apply to ſome parts of learning, to qualify themſelves for that office; and it became neceſſary to provide ſchools for their inſtruction. The truth of theſe obſervations is confirmed by many unqueſtionable facts, which prove, that the Engliſh

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[10] Murator. Antiq. t. 3. p. 810.

began

Cent. VII. began to pay ſome attention to learning (which they had before neglected) as ſoon as they were converted to Chriſtianity. The firſt Chriſtian king in England was the firſt Engliſh legiſlator who committed his laws to writing [11]. Sigbert king of the Eaſt-Angles, immediately after his converſion, founded a famous ſchool for the education of youth in his dominions, A. D. 630, after the model of thoſe which he had ſeen in France, and at Canterbury, whence he brought teachers [12]. In a word, ſome of the Engliſh clergy in the end of this and in the next century, became famous for their learning, and were admired by all Europe as prodigies of erudition [13]. So great and happy a change did the introduction of Chriſtianity, though not in its pureſt form, produce in the mental improvements of our anceſtors.

Life of Aldhelm. Though the Engliſh began to apply to learning in the former part of the ſeventh century, yet it was near the concluſion of it before any of them acquired much literary fame. Aldhelm, a near relation, if not the nephew, of Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, was the firſt who did ſo. Having received the firſt part of his education in the ſchool which one Macdulf, a learned Scot, had ſet up in the place where Malmſbury now ſtands, he travelled into France and Italy

[11] Wilkins Leges Saxon. [12] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ.

[13] Murator. Antiq. t. 3. col. 618. Buckeri Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 574.

for

for his improvement [14]. At his return home, he ſtudied ſome time under Adrian, abbot of St. Auguſtin's in Canterbury, the moſt learned profeſſor of the ſciences who had ever been in England [15]. In theſe different ſeminaries he acquired a very uncommon ſtock of knowledge, and became famous for his learning, not only in England, but in foreign countries; whence ſeveral learned men ſent their writings for his peruſal and correction; particularly prince Arcivil, a ſon of the king of Scotland, who wrote many pieces, which he ſent to Aldhelm, "intreating him to give them the laſt poliſh, by "rubbing off their Scotch ruſt [16]." He was the firſt Engliſhman who wrote in the Latin language both in proſe and verſe, and compoſed a book for the inſtruction of his countrymen in the proſody of that language. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral other treatiſes on various ſubjects; ſome of which are loſt, and others publiſhed by Martin Delrio and Caniſius [17]. Venerable Bede, who flouriſhed in the end of this and the beginning of the next century, gives the following character of Aldhelm: "He was a man of univerſal erudition, having an elegant ſtyle, and "being wonderfully well acquainted with books, "both on philoſophical and religious ſubjects [18]." King Alfred the Great declared, that Aldhelm was the beſt of all the Saxon poets, and that a

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[14] Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 2, 3. [15] Id. ibid. [16] Id. ibid.
[17] Cave Hiſt. Literar. Secul. A. D. 680.
[18] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 18.

favourite

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favourite ſong, which was univerſally ſung in his time, near two hundred years after its author's death, was of his compoſition [19]. When he was abbot of Malmſbury, having a fine voice, and great ſkill in muſic as well as poetry, and obſerving the backwardneſs of his barbarous countrymen to liſten to grave inſtructions, he compoſed a number of little poems, which he ſung to them after maſs in the ſweeteſt manner; by which they were gradually inſtructed and civilized [20]. After this excellent perſon had governed the monaſtery of Malmſbury, of which he was the founder, about thirty years, he was made biſhop of Shereburn, where he died, A. D. 709 [21].

Life of Theodore.

Though Theodore, who was advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury A. D. 668, was not an Engliſhman by birth; yet as he contributed ſo much to the introduction and improvement of learning in England, he merits our grateful remembrance in this place. This excellent prelate, who was a native of Tarſus, in Cilicia, and one of the moſt learned men of his age, being promoted by the pope to the government of the infant-church of England, and informed of the groſs and general ignorance of the people of that country, reſolved to promote the intereſt of uſeful learning amongſt them, as the moſt effectual means of promoting that of true reli-

[19] Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 4.
[20] Id. ibid. p. 9.
[21] Id. ibid. p. 23.

gion,

gion. With this view he brought with him from Rome a valuable collection of books, and ſeveral profeſſors of the ſciences, particularly abbot Adrian, to aſſiſt him in the education of the Engliſh youth [22]. This ſcheme, as we learn from Bede, was crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs. "Theſe two great men (Theodore and Adrian), "excelling in all parts of ſacred and civil learning, collected a great multitude of ſcholars, "whom they daily inſtructed in the ſciences, "reading lectures to them on poetry, aſtronomy, "and arithmetic, as well as on divinity and the "holy ſcriptures [23]."

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Sciences ſtudied in this century.

The circle of the ſciences that were taught and ſtudied in England in the ſeventh century, when learning was in its infancy, we cannot ſuppoſe to have been very large, though it was not really ſo confined as we might, on a ſuperficial view, imagine. Grammar, particularly that of the Greek and Latin languages, was taught and ſtudied with much diligence and no little ſucceſs. Venerable Bede aſſures us, that he had converſed with ſome of the ſcholars of Theodore and Adrian, who underſtood Greek and Latin as well as they did their native tongue [24]. It is evident from the works of Aldhelm, which are ſtill extant, that he had read the moſt celebrated authors of Greece and Rome, and that he was no contemptible critic

[22] Cave Hiſt. Lit. Sec. 7. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 2.
[23] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 2. [24] Id. ibid.

in

Cent. VII. in the languages in which theſe authors wrote. The teſtimony of a cotemporary, well acquainted with the ſubject, is always moſt ſatisfactory, when it can be obtained; and therefore the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following account given by Aldhelm himſelf, in a letter to Hedda biſhop of Wincheſter, of the ſciences which he and others ſtudied in the ſchool of Canterbury. "I confeſs, moſt reverend father, "that I had reſolved, if circumſtances would "permit, to ſpend the approaching Chriſtmas "in the company of my relations, and to en- "joy, for ſome time, the felicity of your con- "verſation. But ſince I now find it will be "impoſſible for me to accompliſh that deſign, "for various reaſons, which the bearer of this "letter will communicate, I hope you will have "the goodneſs to excuſe my not waiting upon "you as I intended. The truth is, that there "is a neceſſity for ſpending a great deal of time "in this ſeat of learning, eſpecially for one who "is inflamed with the love of reading, and is "earneſtly deſirous, as I am, of being inti- "mately acquainted with all the ſecrets of the "Roman juriſprudence. Beſides, there is ano- "ther ſtudy in which I am engaged, which is "ſtill more tedious and perplexing,—to make "myſelf maſter of all the rules of a hundred "different kinds of verſes, and of the muſical "modulations of words and ſyllables. This "ſtudy is rendered more difficult, and almoſt "inextricable, by the great ſcarcity of able "teachers.

" teachers. But it would far exceed the bounds Cent. VII.
" of a familiar letter to explain this matter
" fully, and lay open all the ſecrets of the art
" of metre, concerning letters, ſylables, poetic
" feet and figures, verſes, tones, time, &c.
" Add to this the doctrine of the ſeven divi-
" ſions of poetry, with all their variations, and
" what number of feet every different kind of
" verſe muſt conſiſt of. The perfect knowledge
" of all this, and ſeveral other things of the like
" kind, cannot, I imagine, be acquired in a
" ſhort ſpace of time. But what ſhall I ſay of
" arithmetic, whoſe long and intricate calcula-
" tions are ſufficient to overwhelm the mind,
" and threw it into deſpair? For my own part,
" all the labour of my former ſtudies, by which
" I had made myſelf a complete maſter of ſe-
" veral ſciences, was trifling, in compariſon of
" what this coſt me; ſo that I may ſay with St.
" Jerome, upon a ſimilar occaſion,—Before I
" entered upon that ſtudy, I thought myſelf a
" maſter; but then I found I was but a learner.
" —However, by the bleſſing of God, and aſ-
" ſiduous reading, I have at length evercome
" the greateſt difficulties, and found out the
" method of calculating ſuppoſitions, which are
" called the parts of a number. I believe it
" will be better to ſay nothing at all of aſtro-
" nomy, the zodiac, and its twelve ſigns re-
" volving in the heavens, which require a long
" illuſtration, than to diſgrace that noble art by
" too ſhort and imperfect an account; eſpecially

" as

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" as there are ſome parts of it, as aſtrology, and " the perplexing calculation of horoſcopes, which " require the hand of a maſter to do them juſ- " tice[25]." This account of the ſtudies of the youth of England who applied to learning, as it was written by one of themſelves, exactly eleven hundred years ago, is really curious, though we have no reaſon to conclude that it contains a complete enumeration of all the ſciences that were then cultivated in England, but only of thoſe in the ſtudy of which the writer was then engaged. Archbiſhop Theodore read lectures on medicine; but Bede hath preſerved one of his doctrines, which doth not ſerve to give us a very high idea of his knowledge in that art, viz. " That it was very dangerous to perform phlebo- " tomy on the fourth day of the moon; becauſe " both the light of the moon, and the tides of " the ſea, were then upon the increaſe[26]." Muſic, logic, rhetoric, &c. were then taught and ſtudied; but in ſo imperfect a manner, that it is unneceſſary to be more particular in our account of them.

Seminaries of learning.

As the youth in thoſe parts of England which had embraced the Chriſtian religion, began to apply to learning with ſome eagerneſs in the ſeventh century, ſeveral ſchools were then eſtabliſhed for their inſtruction. One of the moſt illuſtrious of thoſe ſchools was that of Canterbury, founded by Auguſtin, the apoſtle of the

25 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 6. 7. 26 Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 3.

Engliſh,

Engliſh, and his companions, and greatly improved by archbiſhop Theodore [27]. In this ſchool a library was alſo founded, and enriched from time to time with many valuable books, brought from Rome by Auguſtin, Theodore, and others: and here the greateſt part of the prelates and abbots who flouriſhed in England in this century received their education. Sigbert, who was advanced to the throne of Eaſt-Anglia, A. D. 631, having lived ſome years an exile in France, was there converted to Chriſtianity, and inſtructed in ſeveral branches of learning, for which he had a taſte. After his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, he laboured with great earneſtneſs to promote the converſion and inſtruction of his ſubjects. With this view, he inſtituted a ſchool in his dominions, in imitation of thoſe which he had ſeen in France and at Canterbury; from which laſt place he was furniſhed with profeſſors by archbiſhop Honorius, who approved of the deſign [28]. As the place where this ancient ſeminary of learning was eſtabliſhed is not mentioned by Bede, it hath been the occaſion of a controverſy between the two famous univerſities of England; the advocates for the ſuperior antiquity of the one contending that it was at Cambridge, while thoſe who favour the other think it more probable that it was at Dumnoc (Dunwich), which was the

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[27] Bedæ Opera a J. Smith edita, Append. N° 14.
[28] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 18.

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capital of that little kingdom, and alſo the ſeat of its biſhops [29]. "Non noſtrum eſt tantas com-"ponere lites." The learned reader would be ſurpriſed, if he heard nothing in this place of the two famous ſchools of Creeklade and Lechlade, which are ſaid to have been founded by the companions of Brute the Trojan, to have flouriſhed through many ages, and to have been transferred to Oxford (nobody can tell how or when), and to have given birth to that celebrated univerſity [30]. But it would be very improper to ſwell this work with a heap of fabulous tales, equally abſurd and contradictory. Several monaſteries were founded in different parts of England in the courſe of this century; and in each of theſe a ſchool was opened for the education of youth: ſo that, as Bede obſerves, "theſe were happy and enlightened times, in "compariſon of thoſe which had preceded "them; for none wanted teachers who were "willing to be inſtructed [31]." In one of theſe monaſteries, Bede himſelf, the great luminary of England, and of the Chriſtian world, in the end of this and beginning of the next century, had his education.

Learned Britons and Scots.

The ſtate of learning among the Scots and Britons was much the ſame in this as it had been in the former century; and ſeveral perſons not

29 Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 18. Append. N° 14.
30 A. Wood, Hiſt. Univ. Oxon. p. 4—6.
31 Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 2.

unlearned,

unlearned, according to the meaſure of the times in which they lived, flouriſhed in both countries in this period. Dinothus, who was abbot of the famous monaſtery of Bangor in Flintſhire, and flouriſhed in the beginning of this century, is ſaid to have been a man of uncommon eloquence and learning; and as ſuch was choſen by the Britiſh clergy to be their advocate in a conference with Auguſtin archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his clergy A. D. 601; a choice which ſeems to have been well made. When Auguſtin preſſed the Britiſh clergy to make their ſubmiſſions to the pope, and acknowledge himſelf as their archbiſhop, Dinothus replied, with much ſpirit and good ſenſe, "Be it known unto you "with certainty, that we are all willing to be "obedient and ſubject to the church of God, to "the pope of Rome, and to every good Chriſ-"tian, as far as to love every one in his degree, "in perfect charity, and to help every one of "them by word and deed to be the children of "God; and other obedience than this I do not "know to be due to him whom ye call the "pope; and this obedience we are ready to pay "to him, and to every Chriſtian, continually. "Beſides, we are already under the government "of the biſhop of Caerleon, who is our ſpi-"ritual guide under God [32]." Nennius abbot of Banchor, who wrote a hiſtory of the Britons, which hath been often printed, Kentegern, Cent. VII.

[32] Spelman Concil. t. 1. b. 108.

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founder of the church of Glaſgow, and ſeveral others of the ſame claſs, flouriſhed among the Scots and Britons in this century; but none of them appear to have been ſo eminent for their learning as to merit a place in the general hiſtory of their country. It is only proper to obſerve, that after the deſtruction of the famous monaſtery of Banchor, A. D. 613, which had been a kind of univerſity for the education of the Britiſh youth, learning declined very ſenſibly among the poſterity of the ancient Britons; which, together with the increaſing miſeries of their country, is the reaſon that we ſhall henceforth meet with very few of that unhappy people who were eminent for their learning.

Scarcity of books in this century.

One thing that greatly retarded the progreſs of learning among the Engliſh, and made the acquiſition of literary knowledge extremely difficult in this century, was the prodigious ſcarcity of books, which had been either carried away by the Romans, or ſo entirely deſtroyed by the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, that it is a little uncertain whether there was ſo much as one book left in England before the arrival of Auguſtin. Nor was this deficiency eaſily ſupplied, as there was a neceſſity of bringing them all from foreign countries, and chiefly from Rome, where they could not be procured without great difficulty, and a moſt incredible expence. One example will be ſufficient to give the reader ſome idea of the price of books in England in this century. Benedict Biſcop, founder of the monaſtery of Were-

Weremouth in Northumberland, made no fewer than five journies to Rome to purchaſe books, veſſels, veſtments, and other ornaments, for his monaſtery; by which he collected a very valuable library; for one book out of which (a volume on coſmography), king Aldfred gave him an eſtate of eight hides, or as much land as eight ploughs could labour[33]. This bargain was concluded by Benedict with the king a little before his death, A. D. 690; and the book was delivered, and the eſtate received by his ſucceſſor abbot Ceolfred. At this rate, none but kings, biſhops, and abbots, could be poſſeſſed of any books; which is the reaſon that there were then no ſchools but in kings' palaces, biſhops' ſeats, or monaſteries. This was alſo one reaſon why learning was then wholly confined to princes, prieſts, and a very few of the chief nobility. Cent. VII.

The eighth century ſeems, upon the whole, to have been the moſt dark and diſmal part of that long night of ignorance and barbariſm that ſucceeded the fall of the Roman empire. This is acknowledged by all the writers of literary hiſtory, who repreſent the nations on the continent as in danger of ſinking into the ſavage ſtate, and loſing the ſmall remains of learning that had hitherto ſubſiſted amongſt them[34]. Even at Rome, which had long been the ſeat of learning, as well as empire, the laſt glimmerings of Cent. VIII. State of learning on the continent in the eighth century.

33 Bed. Hiſt. Abbat. Wermuthen. edit. a J. Smith, p. 297, 8.
34 Brucker. Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 571.

Cent. VIII. the lamp of ſcience were on the point of expiring, and the pretended literati wrote in the moſt barbarous manner, without regarding the plaineſt rules of grammar, uſing ſuch phraſes as theſe:—*Ut inter eis diſſenſio fiat, et diviſis inveniantur*,—*Una cum omnes Benebentani*, &c. [35]. France was ſtill in a worſe condition, if poſſible, in this reſpect: for when Charlemagne, as we are told by one of his hiſtorians, began to attempt the reſtoration of learning, A. D. 787, the ſtudy of the liberal arts had quite ceaſed in that kingdom, and he was obliged to bring all his teachers from other countries [36]. We may judge, that the ſtate of learning in Spain, at this time, was no better, by their being obliged to make canons againſt ordaining men prieſts or biſhops who could neither read, nor ſing pſalms [37]. This deplorable decline of learning on the continent was partly owing to the eſtabliſhment of the Lombards in Italy, and the incurſions of the Saracens in France and Spain, and partly to a wrong turn that had been given to the ſtudies of the clergy in all theſe countries. Ever ſince the reformation that had been made in the muſic of the church by Gregory the Great, in the end of the ſixth and the beginning of the ſeventh century, great attention had been given to that art, till by degrees it became almoſt the only thing to which the clergy applied, to the total neglect of all ſeverer ſtudies. A great number of treatiſes

[35] Murator Antiq. t. 3. p. 811. [36] Id. ibid.
[37] Bruckeri Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 571.

were

were written by the fathers of the church on this ſubject, and the beſt ſinger was eſteemed the moſt learned man [38]. When Charlemagne viſited Rome, A. D. 786, the French clergy in his retinue were ſo proud of their own ſinging, that they challenged the Roman clergy to a muſical combat. The Romans, after calling the French fools, ruſtics, blockheads, and many other ill names, accepted the challenge, and obtained a complete victory, to the great mortification of their antagoniſts [39]. Cent. VIII.

When the muſes were thus expelled from all the countries on the continent, they found an aſylum in the Britiſh Iſles, where ſeveral perſons applied to the ſtudy of the ſciences, with great ardour, and no little ſucceſs. The ſchools eſtabliſhed by archbiſhop Theodore at Canterbury, and by king Sigbert in Eaſt-Anglia, had produced ſome good ſcholars; who being advanced to the higheſt ſtations, both in church and ſtate, became great encouragers of learning; which, having all the charms of novelty, was purſued by ſeveral ingenious men with uncommon diligence. Ina king of Weſſex, Offa king of Mercia, Aldfrid king of Northumberland, and ſeveral other princes who flouriſhed in this period, were great patrons of learning and learned men, who enjoyed much tranquillity, and were furniſhed with books, in the monaſteries that were State of learning in England in this century.

[38] Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. t. 1. p. 644.

[39] Launoius de Scholis Celeb. c. 1. p. 3.

Cent. VIII. then founded. All theſe circumſtances concurring, occaſioned a tranſient gleam of light to ariſe in England in the eighth century; which, it muſt be confeſſed, would not have appeared very bright, if it had not been both preceded and followed by ſuch profound darkneſs. It was to this period that Alfred the Great alludes in the following paſſages of his famous letter to Wulfseg biſhop of London: "I muſt inform "you, my dear friend, that I often revolve in "my mind the many learned and wiſe men who "formerly flouriſhed in the Engliſh nation, both "among the clergy and laity. How happy were "thoſe times! Then the princes governed their "ſubjects with great wiſdom, according to the "word of God, and became famous for their "wiſe and upright adminiſtration. Then the "clergy were equally diligent in reading, ſtu-"dying, and teaching; and this country was ſo "famous for learning, that many came hither "from foreign parts to be inſtructed. Then "(before all was ſpoiled and burnt) the "churches and monaſteries were filled with li-"braries of excellent books in ſeveral lan-"guages.—When I reflected on this, I ſome-"times wondered that thoſe learned men, who "were ſpread over all England, had not tranſ-"lated the beſt of theſe books into their native "tongue. But then I preſently anſwered my-"ſelf, that thoſe wiſe men could not imagine, "that ever learning would be ſo much neglected "as to make this neceſſary, and believed, that

"the

" the more languages were underſtood, the " more learning would abound in any country [40]." Cent. VIII.

To give the reader a juſt idea of the ſtate of learning in this period, of which this great prince entertained ſo high an opinion, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort ſketch of the perſonal hiſtory, and learned labours of a few who were moſt eminent for their erudition, and from their works to collect what ſciences were then cultivated, and to what degree of perfection they were brought.

Life of Tobias biſhop of Rocheſter.

Tobias biſhop of Rocheſter, who flouriſhed in the beginning of this century, after having ſtudied ſeveral years in the monaſtery of Glaſſonbury, finiſhed his education at Canterbury, under archbiſhop Theodore, and his coadjutor abbot Adrian. In this famous ſchool, as we are told by his cotemporary Bede, he made great proficiency in all parts of learning, both civil and eccleſiaſtical: and the Greek and Latin languages became as familiar to him as his native tongue [41]: an attainment not very common in more enlightened times. All the works of this learned prelate periſhed in the ſubſequent depredations of the Danes [42].

Life of Bede.

Beda the preſbyter, commonly called *venerable Bede*, though he never attained to any higher ſtation in the church than that of a ſimple monk, was the great luminary of England, and of the

[40] Spelman, Vita Elfredi, Append. N° 3. p. 196.
[41] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 23.
[42] Leland de Script. Britan. t. 1. p. 91.

Chriſtian

Cent. VIII. Chriſtian world, in this century. This excellent perſon was born at Weremouth, in the kingdom of Northumberland, A. D. 672, and educated in the monaſtery of St. Peter, founded at that place about two years after his birth, by the famous Benedict Biſcop, one of the moſt learned men and greateſt travellers of his age[43]. Bede enjoyed great advantages in this monaſtery for the acquiſition of knowledge; having the uſe of an excellent library, which had been collected by the founder of his travels, and the aſſiſtance of the beſt maſters. Abbot Benedict himſelf, Ceolfred his ſucceſſor, and St. John of Beverley, were all his preceptors, and took much pleaſure in teaching one who profited ſo much by their inſtructions[44]. Theſe favourable circumſtances concurring with an excellent genius, an ardent thirſt for knowledge, and unwearied diligence in the purſuit of it, enabled him to make uncommon progreſs. Being no leſs pious than he was learned, he was ordained a deacon in the nineteenth year of his age, by John of Beverley, then biſhop of Hexham, afterwards archbiſhop of York. It ſeems to have been about this time that he removed from the monaſtery of St. Peter's at Weremouth, where he had been educated, to that of St. Paul's at Iarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne, then newly founded by the ſame Benedict. In this monaſtery of Iarrow he ſpent

43 Bed. ad fin. Epitom. Hiſt. Eccleſ. et in Vita Abbat. Weremouth.
44 Bale de Script. Britan. p. 94.

the

the remainder of his life, employing all his time (as he himſelf acquaints us) in performing the offices of devotion in the church, teaching, reading, and writing [45]. At the age of thirty, A. D. 702, he was ordained a prieſt by the ſame pious prelate from whom he had received deacon's orders [46]. Though Bede contented himſelf with living in a humble ſtation, in a little monaſtery, and obſcure corner of the world, the fame of his learning had by this time ſpread over all Europe, and the ſovereign pontiff was deſirous of his company and advice in the government of the church. This appears from the following paſſage of a letter from pope Sergius to Ceolfred abbot of Weremouth and Iarrow:—"Some "queſtions have ariſen concerning eccleſiaſtical "affairs, which require the moſt ſerious examination of men of the greateſt learning. I therefore beſeech and require you, by the love of "God, by your regard to religion, and by the "obedience which you owe to the univerſal "church, that you do not refuſe to comply with "our preſent requiſition, but, without delay, "ſend to the apoſtles Peter and Paul, and to me "Beda, the pious ſervant of God, a preſbyter "in your monaſtery. You may depend upon "it, that he ſhall be ſent back to you, as ſoon "as the ſolemnities of theſe conſultations are "happily ended. Conſider, I beſeech you, that "whatever good may, on this occaſion, be Cent. VIII.

45 Bed. ad fin. Epit. Hiſt. Eccleſ. 46 Id. ibid.

"done

Cent. VIII. "done to the univerſal church, by means of his "excellent wiſdom, will redound particularly to "the honour and advantage of you and your "monaſtery[47]." A noble teſtimony of the high opinion that was entertained of the wiſdom and learning of our humble preſbyter in the court of Rome. It is evident, however, from Bede's own teſtimony, that he did not go to Rome in conſequence of this requiſition, which was probably owing to the death of pope Sergius, which happened ſoon after he had written the above letter[48]. The induſtry of this excellent perſon in acquiring knowledge was ſo very great, that he made himſelf maſter of every branch of literature that it was poſſible for any man to acquire in the age and circumſtances in which he lived; nor was his diligence in communicating this knowledge, both to his cotemporaries and to poſterity, leſs remarkable. This appears from the prodigious number of works which he compoſed, on ſo great a variety of ſubjects, that we may almoſt venture to affirm they contain all the learning that was then known in the world. Theſe works have been often publiſhed in different cities of Europe, as Paris, Baſil, Cologne, &c.; but never in any part of Britain, to which the author was ſo great an honour. The only complete edition of Beda's works that I have had an opportunity of examining is that at Cologne, A. D.

47 G. Malmſ. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 1. c. 3.

49 See Biographia Britannica, artic. Beda.

1612,

1612, in eight volumes in folio. It would require a large work to give the reader even an imperfect idea of the erudition contained in these volumes; and therefore he must be contented with the catalogue of the several treatises contained in them, which he will find in the Appendix[49]. This will at least make him acquainted with the subjects on which this great man employed his pen. Many writers, both ancient and modern, have bestowed the highest encomiums on the genius and learning of Bede. "How "much (says one of the best judges of literary "merit) was Beda distinguished amongst the "British monks, who, to say the truth, was "not only the most learned of them, but, the "age in which he lived considered, of the whole "western world[50]." This character, so honourable to Bede, is confirmed by many persons of the greatest name in the republic of letters; while some few have spoke of him in a strain not quite so favourable[51]. But these last appear plainly not to have considered the state of the times in which he lived, and the disadvantages under which he laboured, comparing him, not with his own cotemporaries, but with the learned men of the last and present century; which is unjust. After this modest and humble presbyter, the great ornament of his age and of his country, had spent a long life in the diligent pursuit and communication of useful knowledge, and in the

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49 Append. N° 4. 50 Contin. de Antiquit. Acad. Dissert. 3.
51 Biograph. Britan. art. Beda, not. N. O.

practice

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practice of every virtue, he died in his cell at Iarrow, in a moſt devout and pious manner, May 26, A. D. 735[52]. The greateſt blemiſh, or rather weakneſs, of this great man, was his credulity, and too eaſy belief of the many legendary ſtories of miracles which he hath inſerted in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory: but this was ſo much the character of the age in which he lived, that it required more than human ſagacity and ſtrength of mind to guard againſt it. He was called *the wiſe Saxon*, by his cotemporaries, and *venerable Beda* by poſterity; and as long as great modeſty, piety, and learning, united in one character, are the objects of veneration amongſt mankind, the memory of Beda muſt be revered.

Decline of learning after the death of Bede.

The remarkable decline of learning in England after the death of Beda is painted in very ſtrong colours by one of the beſt of our ancient hiſtorians. "The death of Beda was fatal to "learning, and particularly to hiſtory, in Eng- "land; inſomuch that it may be ſaid, that "almoſt all knowledge of paſt events was buried "in the ſame grave with him, and hath con- "tinued in that condition even to our times. "There was not ſo much as one Engliſhman "left behind him, who emulated the glory "which he had acquired by his ſtudies, imitated "his example, or purſued the path to know- "ledge which he had pointed out. A few in-

[52] Simeon Dunelm. l. 3. c. 7. W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

"deed

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"deed of his ſurvivors were good men, and not "unlearned; but they generally ſpent their "lives in an inglorious ſilence; while the far "greateſt number ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, "until by degrees the love of learning was quite "extinguiſhed in this iſland for a long time[53]." Several other cauſes, beſides the death of Beda, contributed to bring on this deplorable ignorance and neglect of learning; particularly, frequent civil wars, and the deſtructive depredations of the Danes; who, being Pagans, deſtroyed the monaſteries, burnt their libraries, and killed or diſperſed the monks, who were the only ſtudents in thoſe unhappy times.

Lives of Acca biſhop of Hexham, and Egbert archbiſhop of York.

A few of the friends of Beda, who ſurvived him, ſupported the declining intereſts of learning for a little time, and on that account are entitled to a place in this part of our work. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was Acca biſhop of Hexham, and Egbert archbiſhop of York. Both theſe prelates were good ſcholars for the times in which they flouriſhed, generous patrons of learning and learned men, and great collectors of books. Acca excelled in the knowledge of the rites and ceremonies of the church, and in church-muſic; both which branches of learning, then in the higheſt eſteem, he acquired at Rome[54]. Egbert, who was brother to Eadbert king of Northumberland, founded a noble library at York, for the advancement of learning. Alcuinus, who

53 W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

54. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 20.

was

Cent. VIII. was his pupil, and the keeper of this library, ſpeaks of it in ſeveral of his letters, as one of the moſt choice and valuable collections of books then in the world. In a letter to Eambald, a ſucceſſor of Egbert in the ſee of York, he expreſſeth himſelf in this manner: "I thank God, my moſt "dear ſon, that I have lived to ſee your exaltation to the government of that church in which "I was educated, and to the cuſtody of that "ineſtimable treaſure of learning and wiſdom "which my beloved maſter archbiſhop Egbert "left to his ſucceſſors [55]." "O that I had (ſays "he in a letter to the emperor Charlemagne) "the uſe of thoſe admirable books on all parts "of learning which I enjoyed in my native "country, collected by the induſtry of my be-"loved maſter Egbert. May it pleaſe your "imperial Majeſty, in your great wiſdom, to "permit me to ſend ſome of our youth to "tranſcribe the moſt valuable books in that "library, and thereby tranſplant the flowers of "Britain into France [56]." It may be ſome ſatisfaction to the learned reader to peruſe the poetical catalogue of this ancient library, which he will find below [57]."

Alcuinus,

55 W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3. 56 Id. ibid.

57 *Alcuinus's Catalogue of Archbiſhop Egbert's library at York.*

Illic invenies veterum veſtigia Patrum;
Quidquid habet pro ſe Latio Romanus in orbe,
Græcia vel quidquid tranſmiſit clara Latinis:
Hæbraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre ſuperno,

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Life of Alcuinus.

Alcuinus, the writer of theſe epiſtles, flouriſhed in the latter part of this century, and was very famous for his genius and erudition. He was born in the north of England, and educated at York, under the direction of archbiſhop Egbert, as we learn from his own letters, in which he frequently calls that great prelate his beloved maſter, and the clergy of York the companions of his youthful ſtudies [58]. As he ſurvived venerable Bede about ſeventy years, it is hardly poſſible that he could have received any part of his education under him, as ſome writers of

Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine ſparſit,
Quod Pater Hieronymus, quod ſenſit Hilarius, atque
Ambroſius Præſul, ſimul Auguſtinus, et ipſe
Sanctus Athanaſius, quod Oroſius edit avitus:
Quidquid Gregorius ſumnius docet, et Leo Papa;
Baſilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque coruſcant,
Caſſiodorus item, Chryſoſtomus atque Johannes;
Quidquid et Athelmus docuit, quid Beda Magiſter,
Quæ Victorinus ſcripſere, Boëtius; atque
Hiſtorici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius, ipſe
Acer Ariſtoteles, Rhetor atque Tullius ingens;
Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipſe Juvencus;
Alcuinus, et Clemens, Proſper, Paulinus, Arator,
Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt;
Quæ Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus, et auctor
Artis grammaticæ, vel quid ſcripſere magiſtri;
Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priſcianuſve,
Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Commenianus.
Invenies alios perplures, lector, ibidem
Egregios ſtudiis, arte et ſermone magiſtros,
Plurima qui claro ſcripſere volumina ſenſu:
Nomina ſed quorum præſenti in carmine ſcribi
Longius eſt viſum, quam plectri poſtulet uſus.

Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccl. Ebor. apud Gale, t. 1. p. 730.

[58] Epiſtolæ Alcuini, apud Lectiones Antiquas Caniſii, t. 2. p. 409.

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literary hiſtory have affirmed; and it is worthy of obſervation, that he never calls that great man his maſter though he ſpeaks of him with the higheſt veneration[59]. It is not well known to what preferments he had attained in the church before he left England, though ſome ſay he was abbot of Canterbury[60]. The occaſion of his leaving his native country, was his being ſent on an embaſſy by Offa king of Mercia, to the emperor Charlemagne, who contracted ſo great an eſteem and friendſhip for him, that he earneſtly ſolicited, and at length prevailed upon him to ſettle in his court, and become his preceptor in the ſciences[61]. Alcuinus accordingly inſtructed that great prince in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity; which rendered him one of his greateſt favourites. "He was treated with ſo much kindneſs and "familiarity (ſays a cotemporary writer) by the "emperor, that the other courtiers called him, "by way of eminence,—*the emperor's delight*[62]." Charlemagne employed his learned favourite to write ſeveral books againſt the heretical opinions of Felix biſhop of Urgel in Catalonia, and to defend the orthodox faith againſt that hereſiarch, in the council of Francfort, A. D. 894; which he performed to the entire ſatisfaction of the emperor and council, and even to the conviction of Felix and his followers, who abandoned their

59 Bale de Script. Britan. cent. 2. c. 17.
60 Biograph. Britan. art. Alcuinus.
61 W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3. 62 Murat. Antiq. t. 1. p. 131.

errors[63]. The emperor conſulted chiefly with Alcuinus on all things relating to religion and learning, and, by his advice, did many great things for the advancement of both. An academy was eſtabliſhed in the Imperial palace, over which Alcuinus preſided, and in which the princes and prime nobility were educated; and other academies were eſtabliſhed in the chief towns of Italy and France, at his inſtigation, and under his inſpection[64]. "France (ſays one "of our beſt writers of literary hiſtory) is in- "debted to Alcuinus for all the polite learning "it boaſted of in that and the following ages. "The univerſities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, "Soiſſons, and many others, owe to him their "origin and increaſe; thoſe of whom he was "not the ſuperior and founder, being at leaſt "enlightened by his doctrine and example, and "enriched by the benefits he procured for them "from Charlemagne[65]." After Alcuinus had ſpent many years in the moſt intimate familiarity with the greateſt prince of his age, he at length, with great difficulty, obtained leave to retire from court to his abbey of St. Martin's at Tours. Here he kept up a conſtant correſpondence by letters with Charlemagne; from which it appears, that both the emperor and his learned friend were animated with the moſt ardent love to learning and religion, and conſtantly employed in

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63 Du Pin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cent. 8.
64 Crevier Hiſt. Univerſit. de Paris, t. 1. p. 26, &c.
65 Cave Hiſt. Literar. ſec. 8, p. 496.

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contriving and executing the nobleſt deſigns for their advancement[66]. Some of theſe letters of Alcuinus (which are directed to Charlemagne, under the name of king David, according to the cuſtom of that age of giving ſcripture-names to princes) breathe ſo excellent a ſpirit, and throw ſo much light on the ſtate of learning, that I cannot reſiſt the inclination of laying one of them before the reader, in the following free tranſlation, which I confeſs falls much ſhort of the ſpirit and elegance of the original Latin:

Letter of Alcuinus to Charlemagne.

" To his moſt pious, excellent, and honoured
" Lord, king David,
" Flaccus Alcuinus wiſheth everlaſting health
" and felicity in Chriſt.

" The contemplation, O moſt excellent prince! " of that pure and virtuous friendſhip with which " you honour me, fills my mind at all times with " the moſt abundant comfort; and I cheriſh in " my heart, as its moſt precious treaſure, the " remembrance of your goodneſs, and the " image of that benign and gracious countenance " with which you entertain your friends. In my " retirement, it is the greateſt joy of my life to " hear of your proſperity; and therefore I have " ſent this young gentleman to bring me an " exact account of your affairs, that I may have " reaſon to ſing the loudeſt praiſes to my Lord " Jeſus Chriſt for your felicity. But why do I

[66] Epiſtolæ Alcuini, apud Antiq. Lection. Caniſii, t. 2.

" ſay

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" ſay that I may have reaſon?—the whole " Chriſtian world hath reaſon to praiſe Almighty " God, with one voice, that he hath raiſed up " ſo pious, wiſe, and juſt a prince, to govern " and protect it in theſe moſt dangerous times; " a prince who makes it the whole joy of his " heart, and buſineſs of his life, to ſuppreſs " every thing that is evil, and promote every " thing that is good; to advance the glory of " God, and ſpread the knowledge of the Chriſtian " religion into the moſt diſtant corners of the " world.

" Perſevere, O my moſt dear and amiable " prince; in your moſt honourable courſe, in " making the improvement of your ſubjects " in knowledge, virtue, and happineſs, the great " object of your purſuit; for this ſhall redound " to your glory and your felicity in the great day " of the Lord, and in the eternal ſociety of his " ſaints. Such noble deſigns and glorious " efforts, you may depend upon it, ſhall not go " unrewarded; for though the life of man is " ſhort, the goodneſs of God is infinite, and he " will recompenſe our momentary toils with joys " which ſhall never end. How precious then is " time! and how careful ſhould we be, that we " do not loſe by our indolence thoſe immortal " felicities which we may obtain by the active " virtues of a good life!

" The employments of your Alcuinus in his " retreat are ſuited to his humble ſphere; but " they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable.

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" I ſpend my time in the halls of St. Martin, in " teaching ſome of the noble youths under my " care the intricacies of grammar, and inſpiring " them with a taſte for the learning of the an- " cients; in deſcribing to others the order and " revolutions of thoſe ſhining orbs which adorn " the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining " to others the myſteries of divine wiſdom, which " are contained in the holy ſcriptures; ſuiting " my inſtructions to the views and capacities of " my ſcholars, that I may train up many to be " ornaments to the church of God, and to the " court of your Imperial majeſty. In doing " this, I find a great want of ſeveral things, par- " ticularly of thoſe excellent books in all arts " and ſciences which I enjoyed in my native " country, through the expence and care of my " great maſter Egbert. May it therefore pleaſe " your majeſty, animated with the moſt ardent " love of learning, to permit me to ſend ſome " of our young gentlemen into England, to pro- " cure for us thoſe books which we want, and " tranſplant the flowers of Britain into France, " that their fragrance may no longer be confined " to York, but may perfume the palaces of " Tours.

" I need not put your majeſty in mind, how " earneſtly we are exhorted in the holy ſcriptures " to the purſuit of wiſdom; than which nothing " is more conducive to a pleaſant, happy, and " honourable life; nothing a greater preſervative " from vice; nothing more becoming or more

" neceſſary

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" neceſſary to thoſe eſpecially who have the ad-
" miniſtration of public affairs, and the govern-
" ment of empires. Learning and wiſdom exalt
" the low, and give additional luſtre to the
" honours of the great. *By wiſdom kings reign,*
" *and princes decree juſtice.* Ceaſe not then, O
" moſt gracious king! to preſs the young
" nobility of your court to the eager purſuit of
" wiſdom and learning in their youth, that they
" may attain to an honourable old age, and a
" bleſſed immortality. For my own part, I
" will never ceaſe, according to my abilities, to
" ſow the ſeeds of learning in the minds of your
" ſubjects in theſe parts; mindful of the ſaying
" of the wiſeſt man, *In the morning ſow thy ſeed,*
" *and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for*
" *thou knoweſt not whether ſhall proſper, either*
" *this or that.* To do this hath been the moſt
" delightful employment of my whole life. In
" my youthful years, I ſowed the ſeeds of learn-
" ing in the flouriſhing ſeminaries of my native
" ſoil of Britain, and in my old age I am doing
" the ſame in France; praying to God, that
" they may ſpring up and flouriſh in both coun-
" tries. I know alſo, O prince beloved of God,
" and praiſed by all good men! that you exert
" all your influence in promoting the intereſts
" of learning and religion; more noble in your
" actions than in your royal birth. May the Lord
" Jeſus Chriſt preſerve and proſper you in all
" your great deſigns, and at length bring you to

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"the enjoyment of celeſtial glory[67]."——How few princes enjoy the happineſs of ſuch a correſpondence, or have the wiſdom and virtue to encourage it!

Alcuinus compoſed many treatiſes on a great variety of ſubjects, in a ſtyle much ſuperior in purity and elegance to that of the generality of writers in the age in which he flouriſhed[68]. Charlemagne often ſolicited him, with all the warmth of a moſt affectionate friend, to return to court, and favour him with his company and advice; but he ſtill excuſed himſelf; and nothing could draw him from his retirement in his abbey of St. Martin in Tours, where he died A. D. 804.

Other learned men who flouriſhed in England in this century.

Though Beda and Alcuinus were unqueſtionably the brighteſt luminaries, not only of England, but of the Chriſtian world, in the eighth century; yet there were ſome other natives of Britain who made no inconſiderable figure in the republic of letters in this period; and are therefore entitled to have their names at leaſt preſerved in the hiſtory of their country. Boniface, the firſt archbiſhop of Mentz, was a native of Britain; but whether of South or North Britain, is not agreed[69]. He received his education in ſeveral Engliſh monaſteries, and became famous for his genius and learning. Being ordained a prieſt in the firſt year of this century, he was ſoon after

67 Lectiones Antiq. Canif. t. 2. 68 Biograph. Britan. in Alcuin.
69 Cave Hiſt. Literar. p. 480. Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, p. 35.

inſpired

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inſpired with the zeal of propagating the goſpel among thoſe nations of Europe who were ſtill Heathens. With this view, he left his native country A. D. 704, and travelled into Germany, where he ſpent about fifty years in preaching the goſpel with equal zeal and ſucceſs, making many converts, and founding many churches. To encourage him in his labours, he was conſecrated a biſhop by pope Gregory II. A. D. 723, and appointed archbiſhop of Mentz A. D. 732 by Gregory III. Boniface being conſidered as the apoſtle of Germany, had great authority in all the churches of that country, and preſided in ſeveral councils; but was at laſt barbarouſly murdered by ſome Pagans near Utrecht, June 5, A. D. 754, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. This active prelate, in the courſe of his long life, beſides ſome other works, wrote a great number of letters, which have been collected and publiſhed by Serarius, and contain many curious things [70]. Willibald, the nephew and fellow-labourer of Boniface, was a man of learning, and wrote the life of his uncle [71]. Eddius, a monk of Canterbury, who flouriſhed in this century, was very famous for his ſkill in church-muſic, a ſcience much eſteemed and cultivated in thoſe times, and wrote the life of Wilfred archbiſhop of York, which hath been publiſhed by Dr. Gale [72]. Dungal and Clement, two Scotch-

70 Du Pin Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. 8.

71 Id. ibid.

72 Scriptores xv. Hiſtor. Britan. t. 1. p. 40.

men,

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men, were very famous for their learning in the latter part of this century, and taught the ſciences in Italy and France with much reputation, under the patronage of Charlemagne[73]. But it would be improper to be more particular in our enumeration of the learned men of this century.

Sciences ſtudied in this century.

The ſciences commonly taught and ſtudied in this age were few and imperfect. It ſeems to have been in this period that the famous diviſion of the ſeven liberal arts or ſciences into the *trivium* and *quadrivium* took place. The *trivium* comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *quadrivium*, muſic, arithmetic, geometry, and aſtronomy, according to the barbarous verſes quoted below[74]. John of Saliſbury, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, ſpeaks of this diviſion of the ſciences as of very great antiquity in his time. "The ſciences are divided (ſays "he) into the *trivii* and *quadrivii*; which were "ſo much admired by our anceſtors in former "ages, that they imagined they comprehended "all wiſdom and learning, and were ſufficient "for the ſolution of all queſtions, and the re"moving of all difficulties: for whoever un"derſtood the *trivii* (grammar, rhetoric, and "logic) could explain all manner of books

[73] Murator. Antiq. t. 3. c. 815, &c.

[74] *Gramm.* loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet. *Rhet.* verba colorat, *Muſ.* cadit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo*, ponderat, *Aſt.* colit aſtra. *Brucker Hiſt. Philoſ. t. 3. p. 597.*

"without

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" without a teacher; but he who was further " advanced, and comprehended alſo the *qua-* " *drivii* (muſic, arithmetic, geometry, and aſtro- " nomy), could anſwer all queſtions, and un- " fold all the ſecrets of nature[75]." How ancient is the art of concealing ignorance under ſpecious pretences to knowledge! Natural and experimental philoſophy was totally neglected; nor were the foundations and principles of morals any part of the ſtudy of the learned in this period[76]. The learned reader will find a very curious poetical catalogue of the ſciences taught in the academy of York, in the work quoted below[77].

Cauſes of the low ſtate of learning in this century.

The narrow limits and very imperfect ſtate of the ſciences in this age were owing to various cauſes; but eſpecially to the total neglect, or rather contempt, of learning, by the laity of all ranks; the greateſt princes being, for the moſt part, quite illiterate. After what hath been ſaid of the learning of Charlemagne, who was unqueſtionably the greateſt monarch and wiſeſt man of his age, it will no doubt ſurpriſe the reader to hear, that his education had been ſo much neglected, that he could not write, and that he was forty-five years of age when he began to ſtudy the ſciences under Alcuinus[78]. From this ex-

75 Joan. Saliſ. Metalog. l. 1. c. 12.

76 Bruckeri Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 599.

77 Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccleſ. Ebor. apud Gale, p. 72.

78 Eginhard. Vita Caroli Magni, c. 25.

ample,

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ample, we may form ſome judgment of the education and learning, or rather ignorance, of the other princes and nobles of Europe in thoſe times. Learning then being wholly in the hands of the clergy, and a very ſmall portion of it being ſufficient to enable them to perform the offices of the church with tolerable decency, few, very few of them, aſpired to any more. Nor have we any reaſon to be ſurpriſed at this, when we conſider the difficulty of procuring books and maſters, and gaining even a ſmattering of the ſciences; and that when it was gained, it contributed little to their credit, and nothing to their preferment, as there were ſo few who were capable of diſcerning literary merit, or diſpoſed to reward it.

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State of learning in the ninth century.

Learning, which had begun to decline in England about the middle of the eighth century, was almoſt quite extinguiſhed in the beginning of the ninth; and that profound darkneſs which had been a little diſſipated by the appearance of a few extraordinary men, as Aldhelm, Beda, Egbert, and Alcuinus, returned again, and reſumed its dominion over the minds of men. Many of the monaſteries, which were the only ſeats of learning, had by this time been deſtroyed, either by the Danes or by the civil wars, their libraries burnt, and the monks diſperſed. This was particularly the caſe in the kingdom of Northumberland, where learning had flouriſhed moſt, as we are informed by the following paſſages in the letters of Alcuinus, preſerved

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preſerved by William of Malmſbury. To the clergy of York he writes:—" I call God to " witneſs, that it was not the love of gold that " carried me into France, or that detains me " there; but the wretched and deplorable ſtate " of your church." To Offa king of Mercia:—" I was ready to return into my native " country of Northumberland loaded with pre- " ſents by Charlemagne; but upon the intelli- " gence I have received, I think it better to " remain where I am, than venture myſelf in a " country where no man can enjoy ſecurity, or " proſecute his ſtudies. For, lo! their churches " are demoliſhed by the Pagans, their altars " polluted with impiety, their monaſteries de- " filed with adulteries, and the land wet with " the blood of its nobles and princes [79]." From hence it appears (ſays Malmſbury) how many calamities were brought upon England through the neglect of learning, and the other vices of its inhabitants. As the devaſtations of the Danes were gradually carried into all parts of England in the courſe of this century, the monaſteries, and other ſeats of learning, were every where laid in the duſt, and the very laſt glimmerings of literary knowledge almoſt quite extinguiſhed. Of this we have the fulleſt evidence in the following paſſage of a letter of Alfred the Great to Wulfsig biſhop of Worceſter: " At my acceſ- " ſion to the throne (A. D. 871), all know-

79 W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

" ledge

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" ledge and learning was extinguiſhed in the " Engliſh nation: inſomuch that there were very " few to the ſouth of the Humber who under- " ſtood the common prayers of the church, or " were capable of tranſlating a ſingle ſentence " of Latin into Engliſh; but to the ſouth of " the Thames, I cannot recollect ſo much as " one who could do this[80]." Another cotemporary writer gives the following melancholy account of the ſtate of learning in this period: " In our days, thoſe who diſcover any taſte for " learning, or deſire of knowledge, are become " the objects of contempt and hatred; their " conduct is viewed with jealous eyes; and if " any blemiſh is detected in their behaviour, it " is imputed, not to the frailty of human nature, " but to the nature of their ſtudies, and their " affectation of being wiſer than their neighbours. " By this means, thoſe few who have really a " love to learning, are deterred from engaging " in the noble purſuit, through the dread of that " reproach and ignominy to which it would ex- " poſe them[81]."

Life of John Scot.

When learning was in this condition, we cannot expect to meet with many learned men who merit a place in the annals of their country. Accordingly we do not find above one or two among the people of this iſland from the death of Alcuinus, A. D. 804, to the acceſſion of Al-

[80] Spelman Vita Alfredi. append. 3. p. 196.
[81] Servati Lupi Epiſt. ad Eginhardum, Ep. 1.

fred,

fred, A D. 871, who attained to any degree of literary fame. The moſt learned man in Europe, however, in this dark period, was a native of Britain, and moſt probably of the town of Air in Scotland. This was Johannes Scotus Erigena, ſo called from his country, and the place of his birth; and ſurnamed the *Wiſe*, on account of his ſuperior knowledge and erudition [82]. This ingenious man, who was probably born about the beginning of this century, ſeeing his own country involved in great darkneſs and confuſion, and affording no means of acquiring that knowledge after which he thirſted, travelled into foreign parts, and, if we may believe ſome writers, into Greece, where he acquired the knowledge of the Greek language and of the Greek philoſophy; which were very rare accompliſhments in thoſe times [83]. "In whatever "manner (ſays one of the beſt writers of literary "hiſtory) he acquired the knowledge of lan- "guages and philoſophy, it is very certain that "he had not only a very pleaſant and facetious, "but alſo a very acute and penetrating genius; "that in philoſophy he had no ſuperior, and in "languages no equal, in the age in which he "flouriſhed [84]." Theſe uncommon accompliſhments, together with his wit and pleaſantry, which rendered his converſation as agreeable as

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[82] Mackenzie's Lives of Scotch Writers, p. 49.
[83] Baleus de Script. Britan. p. 114.
[84] Bruckeri Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 615.

it

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it was inſtructive, procured him an invitation from Charles the Bald, king of France, the greateſt patron of learning and learned men in that age. Scotus accepted of this invitation, and lived ſeveral years in the court of that great prince, on a footing of the moſt intimate friendſhip and familiarity, ſleeping often in the royal apartment, and dining daily at the royal table. We may judge of the freedom which he uſed with Charles, by the following repartee, preſerved by one of our ancient hiſtorians. As the king and Scotus were ſitting one day at table oppoſite to each other, after dinner, drinking a cheerful glaſs, the philoſopher having ſaid ſomething that was not quite agreeable to the rules of French politeneſs, the king, in a merry humour, aſked him, Pray what is between a Scot and a ſot? To which he anſwered, Nothing but the table [85]. The king, ſays the hiſtorian, laughed heartily, and was not in the leaſt offended, as he made it a rule never to be angry with his maſter, as he always called Scotus. But Charles valued this great man for his wiſdom and learning ſtill more than for his wit, and retained him about his perſon; not only as an agreeable companion, but as his preceptor in the ſciences, and his beſt counſellor in the moſt arduous affairs of government. At the deſire of his royal friend and patron, Scotus compoſed ſeveral works while he reſided in the court of France; which

[85] Hovedeni Annal. ad an. 866.

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procured him many admirers on the one hand, and many adverſaries on the other; eſpecially among the clergy, to whom his notions on ſeveral ſubjects did not appear perfectly orthodox. His books on predeſtination and the euchariſt in particular were ſuppoſed to contain many bold and dangerous poſitions; and a crowd of angry monks and others wrote againſt them[86]. While he was engaged in theſe diſputes, an incident happened which drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the ſovereign pontiff. Michael Balbus, the Greek emperor, had ſent a copy of the works of Dionyſius the philoſopher to the emperor Lewis the pious, A. D. 824. as a moſt valuable preſent. This was eſteemed an ineſtimable treaſure in France, becauſe it was ignorantly believed to be the work of Dionyſius the Areopagite, the pretended apoſtle of the French; but being in Greek, it was quite unintelligible. Charles the Bald, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Lewis, deſirous of peruſing this work, employed his friend Scotus to tranſlate it into Latin; which he undertook, and accompliſhed, without conſulting the Pope. This, with the former ſuſpicions of his heterodoxy, gave ſo great offence to his holineſs, that he wrote a very angry letter to the king of France, requeſting, or rather commanding him, to ſend Scotus to Rome, to undergo a trial. "I have been informed (ſays the pope "in his letter) that one John, a Scotchman by

[86] Brucker, Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 616.

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[87] Aub. Miræus ad Gemblacen, c. 93. p. 104.

" path of the Latin philoſophers and divines, Cent. IX.
" and purſuing that of the Greeks. It was this
" that made him appear heretic to many; and
" it muſt be confeſſed, that there are many things
" in it which, at firſt ſight at leaſt, ſeem to be
" contrary to the catholic faith[88]." Of this kind are his opinions about God and the univerſe; which have evidently too great a reſemblance to the pantheiſm of Spinoza. Scotus was not free from that learned vanity which makes men delight in ſuch paradoxes as are commonly no better than impious or ridiculous abſurdities. The following ſhort quotations from this work will abundantly juſtify theſe ſtrictures. " All
" things are God, and God is all things. When
" we ſay that God created all things, we mean
" only, that God is in all things, and that he is
" the eſſence of all things, by which they exiſt.
" The univerſe is both eternal and created, and
" neither did its eternity precede its creation,
" nor its creation precede its eternity[89]." The philoſophical and theological ſyſtem of Scotus appears to have been this in a few words: " That the univerſe and all things which it
" comprehends, were not only virtually, but eſ-
" ſentially in God; that they flowed from him
" from eternity; and ſhall, at the conſumma-
" tion of all things, be reſolved again into him,
" as into their great fountain and origin. After

[88] Hovedeni Annal. ad ann. 883.

[89] Jo. Scoti Erigenæ de Diviſione Naturæ, libri quinque, p. 42. 111. 128.

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" the refurrection (fays he), nature, and all its " cauſes, ſhall be reſolved unto God, and then " nothing ſhall exiſt but God alone[90]." Theſe opinions were far enough from being agreeable to the Catholic faith; and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed to hear, that the pope Honorius III. publiſhed a bull, commanding all the copies of this book that could be found, to be ſent to Rome, in order to be burnt; " becauſe (ſays his " holineſs) it is quite full of the worms of he- " retical pravity[91]." The concluding ſcene of the hiſtory of this learned and ingenious man is involved in darkneſs and uncertainty. Some Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that after the death of his great patron Charles the Bald, he came over into England, at the invitation of Alfred the Great; that he taught ſome time in the univerſity of Oxford; from whence he retired to the abbey of Malmſbury, where he was murdered by his ſcholars with their penknives[92]. But theſe writers ſeem to have confounded John Scot Erigena with another John Scot, who was an Engliſhman, cotemporary with Alfred, taught at Oxford, and was ſlain by the monks of the abbey of Ethelingey, of which he was abbot[93]. It is moſt probable that Erigena ended his days in France[94].

90 Jo. Scoti Erigenæ de Diviſione Naturæ, libri quinque, p. 232.
91 Alberic. Chron. ad ann. 1225.
92 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 4. Hoveden Annal. ad ann. 866.
93 Aſſerius in Vita Alfredi.
94 Hiſtoire Literaire de la France, Siecle 9.

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History of learning in the reign of Alfred the Great.

The reign of Alfred the Great, from A. D. 871 to A. D. 901, is a moſt memorable period in the annals of learning, and affords more materials for literary hiſtory than two or three centuries either before or after, ſhining with all the warmth and luſtre of the brighteſt day of ſummer, amidſt the gloom of a long, dark, and ſtormy winter. Every friend to learning, and the improvement of the human mind, muſt wiſh to ſee the literary merits of this excellent prince ſet in a fair and juſt light, for the honour of human nature, and an example to all ſucceeding princes.

Literary hiſtory of Alfred.

Alfred the Great appeared at a time, and in circumſtances, the moſt unfavourable that can be conceived for the acquiſition of knowledge, being born when his country was involved in the moſt profound darkneſs and deplorable confuſion, when the ſmall remains of ſcience that were left were wholly confined to cloiſters, and learning was conſidered rather as a reproach than an honour to a prince. Accordingly we find that his education was totally neglected in this reſpect: and though he was carefully inſtructed in the art of hunting, in which he attained to great dexterity, he was not taught to know one letter from another till he was above twelve years of age; when a book was put into his hand by a kind of accident, rather than any formed deſign. The queen, his mother, one day being in company with her four ſons, of which Alfred was the youngeſt, and having a book of Saxon

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poems in her hand, beautifully written and illuminated, obſerved, that the royal youths were charmed with the beauty of the book; upon which ſhe ſaid,—"I will make a preſent of this "book to him who ſhall learn to read it ſooneſt." Alfred immediately took fire, and applied to learn to read with ſuch ardour, that in a very little time he both read and repeated the poem to the queen, and received it for his reward[95]. From that moment he was ſeized with an inſatiable thirſt for knowledge, and reading and ſtudy became his chief delight. But ſtill he met with great difficulties in the proſecution of his ſtudies for want of proper helps. "I have "heard him (ſays Aſſerius) lament it with many "ſighs, as the greateſt misfortune of his life, "that when he was young, and had leiſure for "ſtudy, he could not find maſters to inſtruct "him; becauſe at that time there were few or "none among the Weſt-Saxons who had any "learning, or could ſo much as read with pro-"priety and eaſe[96]." For ſome years before, and ſeveral years after his acceſſion to the throne, he was ſo inceſſantly engaged in wars againſt the Danes, and in other affairs of ſtate, that he had but little time for ſtudy; but of that little he did not loſe a moment, carrying a book continually in his boſom, to which he applied whenever he had an opportunity[97]. When he was

95 Aſſer. de Alfredi Rebus geſtis, p. 5. edit. a Camden.
96 Id. ibid. 97 Id. ibid.

advanced

advanced in life, and had reſtored the tranquillity of his country by the ſubmiſſion of the Danes, he was ſo far from relaxing, that he redoubled his efforts to improve his mind in knowledge, devoting a conſiderable portion of his time to ſtudy, and employing all his leiſure hours in reading, or hearing others read[98]. By this inceſſant application to ſtudy, this excellent prince became one of the greateſt ſcholars of the age in which he flouriſhed. He is ſaid to have ſpoken the Latin language with as much eaſe and fluency as his native tongue, and underſtood, but did not ſpeak Greek. He was an eloquent orator, an acute philoſopher, an excellent hiſtorian, mathematician, muſician, and architect, and the prince of the Saxon poets[99]. Cent. IX.

Alfred did not proſecute his ſtudies with all this ardour merely as a private man, and for his own improvement only, but as a great prince, and for the improvement of his ſubjects, whoſe ignorance he viewed with much compaſſion. Conſcious that the revival of learning in a country where it was quite extinct, was too arduous a taſk even for the greateſt monarch, without aſſiſtance, he was at great pains to find out learned men in other countries, whom he invited to ſettle in his court and kingdom. Thoſe who accepted his invitations, he received in the kindeſt manner, treated with the moſt engaging familiarity, Invited learned men to his court.

98 Aſſer. de Alfredi Rebus geſtis, p. 5. edit. a Camden.
99 W. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Ingulf. p. 28. W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 4.

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and loaded with the greateſt favours. Some of theſe learned men he kept about his own perſon, as the companions of his ſtudies, and to aſſiſt him in the inſtruction of his own ſons, and of the ſons of his nobility, who were educated with them in his palace; while he ſtationed others of them in thoſe places where they might be moſt uſeful[100]. As theſe ſcholars, though in a humbler ſtation, were the aſſociates of the illuſtrious Alfred in the revival of learning, they merit our grateful remembrance in this place.

Life of Aſſer.

Aſſer, a monk of St. David's in Wales, was one of Alfred's greateſt favourites, and wrote his life, to which we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the actions and character of this great prince. Alfred having heard this monk much celebrated for his learning, invited him to his court; and was ſo charmed with his converſation at the firſt interview, that he earneſtly preſſed him to come and live conſtantly with him. To this the monk, not being his own maſter, could not agree; but at length, with the conſent of his monaſtery, it was ſettled, that he ſhould ſpend one half of every year at St. David's, and the other at the court of England; where he employed much of his time in reading with the king, who rewarded him with three rich abbeys, and many noble preſents[101].

Grimbald, &c.

Grimbald, a monk of Rheims in France, was another of the learned men whom Alfred invited

100 Aſſer. de Alfredi Rebus geſtis, p. 5. edit. a Camden.

101 Id. p. 15.

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to his court, to assist him in his own studies, and in reviving the study of letters among his subjects. This monk was particularly famous for his theological and ecclesiastical learning, and his skill in church music; which rendered him a valuable acquisition to Alfred, and a useful instrument in promoting his designs for the restoration of learning, as we shall see by and by[102]. He procured another learned man from Old Saxony on the continent, who was named *John Scot*, and is by many writers confounded with John Scot Erigena, though he was evidently a different person[103]. Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury, Werefred bishop of Worcester, Dunwulph bishop of Winchester, Wulfsig and Ethelstan bishops of London, and Werebert bishop of Chester, were among the learned men who assisted Alfred in his studies, and in promoting the interests of learning among his subjects[104].

Works of Alfred.

By the assistance of these ingenious men, and his own indefatigable application, Alfred acquired a very uncommon degree of erudition; which he employed, like a great and good prince, in composing some original works, and translating others out of Latin into Saxon, for the instruction of his people. The most perfect catalogue, both of the original works, and translations of this excellent prince, may be found in

[102] Asser. de Alfredi Rebus gestis, p. 14. edit. a Camden.
[103] Ingulf. Hist. [104] Spelman, Life of Alfred, p. 137, 138.

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the work quoted below[105]; but is too long to be here inſerted. The motives which prompted Alfred to tranſlate ſome books out of Latin into Saxon; and the methods which he uſed in making and publiſhing theſe tranſlations, are communicated to us by himſelf, in his preface to one of them: "When I conſidered with myſelf, how "much the knowledge of the Latin tongue was "decayed in England, though many could read "their native language well enough, I began, "amidſt all the hurry and multiplicity of my "affairs, to tranſlate this book (the paſtoral of "St. Gregory) out of Latin into Engliſh, in "ſome places very literally, in others more "freely; as I had been taught by Plegmund "my archbiſhop, and Aſſer my biſhop, and "Grimbald and John my prieſts. When I "had learned by their inſtructions, to comprehend the ſenſe of the original clearly, I tranſlated it, I ſay, and ſent a copy of my tranſlation to every biſhop's ſeat in my kingdom, "with an æſtel or handle worth fifty mancuſſes, "charging all men, in the name of God, neither "to ſeparate the book from the handle, nor remove it out of the church; becauſe I did not "know how long we might enjoy the happineſs "of having ſuch learned prelates as we have at "preſent[106]." There can be no doubt that Alfred had the ſame views, and proceeded in the

[105] Biographia Britan. vol. 1. p. 54, 55.

[106] Spelman, Vita Alfredi, Append. No. 3. p. 197.

ſame

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ſame manner, in making and publiſhing his other tranſlations.

Seminaries of learning.

At the acceſſion of Alfred the Great, all the ſeminaries of learning in England were laid in aſhes. Theſe were the monaſteries and biſhops ſeats where ſchools had been kept for the education of youth, chiefly for the church, which were ſo univerſally deſtroyed by the Danes, that hardly one of them was left ſtanding. This great prince, ſenſible how impoſſible it was to revive learning, without providing ſchools for the education of youth, repaired the old monaſteries, and built new ones, inſtituting a ſchool in each of them for that purpoſe[107]. But in theſe monaſtic and epiſcopal ſchools, both in England and in other countries of Europe, the youth were only taught reading, writing, the Latin language, and church-muſic, to fit them for performing the public offices of the church: except in a very few, where ſome were taught arithmetic, to enable them to manage the ſecular affairs of their ſocieties, and others inſtructed in rhetoric and theology, to aſſiſt them in declaiming to the people[108]. Though theſe ſchools prevented the total extinction of literary knowledge among the Chriſtian clergy in thoſe dark times, they contributed very little to the improvement of the ſciences, or the diffuſing of learning among the laity, who were left almoſt entirely without the means of acquiring any degree of literature.

[107] Spelman. Vita Alfredi, Append. No. 3. p. 106.

[108] Conring. de Antiquit. Academ. p. 67, 68.

When

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The univerſity of Oxford founded.

When Alfred the Great, therefore formed the noble deſign of rendering learning both more perfect and more general, he was under a neceſſity of inſtituting ſchools on a different and more extenſive plan; in which all the ſciences that were then known ſhould be taught by the beſt maſters that could be procured, to the laity as well as to the clergy. This great prince, having formed the idea of ſuch a ſchool, was very happy in the choice of a place for its eſtabliſhment, fixing on that auſpicious ſpot where the univerſity of Oxford, one of the moſt illuſtrious ſeats of learning in the world, now ſtands. Whether he was determined to make this choice by its having been a ſeat of learning in former times, by the natural amenity of the place, or by its convenient ſituation, almoſt in the centre of his dominions, we have not leiſure to enquire, as it would lead us into ſeveral tedious and doubtful diſquiſitions. Being ſurrounded by a conſiderable number of learned men, collected from different countries, he juſtly thought, that they could not be better employed than in inſtructing the riſing generation in divine and human learning. In order to enable them to do this with the greater ſucceſs, he provided ſuitable accommodations for them and their ſcholars, at Oxford; though, at this diſtance of time, it cannot be diſcovered with certainty what theſe accommodations and endowments were. The following account of the ſchools founded at Oxford by Alfred the Great is given by John Rouſe, the antiquarian of Warwick, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth

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fifteenth century; to which our readers may give that degree of credit which they think it merits. "At the firſt founding of the univerſity of Ox- "ford, the noble king Alfred built three halls "in the name of the Holy Trinity, for the doc- "tors in grammar, philoſophy, and divinity. "The firſt of theſe halls was ſituated in High- "ſtreet, near the eaſt gate of the city, and en- "dowed with a ſufficient maintenance for twenty- "ſix grammarians. This was called *Little hall*, "on account of the inferiority of the ſcience "there ſtudied; and it ſtill retains that name "even in my time. The ſecond was built near "the north wall of the city, in the ſtreet now "called *School-ſtreet*, and endowed for twenty- "ſix logicians or philoſophers, and had the name "of *Leſs-hall*. The third was built alſo in "High-ſtreet, contiguous to Little-hall, and "was endowed for twenty-ſix divines, for the "ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures[109]." This account, ſome may think, is corroborated by the following paſſage of the old annals of the monaſtery of Wincheſter, which hath alſo preſerved the names of the firſt profeſſors in this celebrated ſeat of learning, after its foundation or reſtoration by king Alfred. "In the year of our Lord "886, in the ſecond year of St. Grimbald's "coming over into England, the univerſity of "Oxford was founded. The firſt regents there, "and readers in divinity, were St. Neot, an

[109] J. Roſſ. Hiſt. Regum Angl. p. 77, 78.

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" abbot and eminent profeſſor of theology, and " St. Grimbald, an eloquent and moſt excellent " interpreter of the holy ſcriptures. Grammar " and rhetoric were taught by Aſſerius, a monk, " a man of extraordinary learning. Logic, mu- " ſic, and arithmetic, were read by John, a " monk of St. David's. Geometry and aſtro- " nomy were profeſſed by John, a monk and " colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of ſharp " wit, and immenſe knowledge. Theſe lec- " tures were often honoured with the preſence " of the moſt illuſtrious and invincible monarch " king Alfred, whoſe memory to every judi- " cious taſte ſhall be always ſweeter than ho- " ney [110]." For the ſupport of the maſters and ſcholars, in theſe and the other ſchools which he eſtabliſhed, Alfred allotted one eighth part of his whole revenue [111]. It ſeems to have been in theſe newly-erected ſchools at Oxford, that their illuſtrious founder ſettled his youngeſt ſon Æthelweard, with the ſons of his nobility and others, for their education; of which Aſſerius, a cotemporary writer, and one of the profeſſors above mentioned, gives the following account: " He " placed Æthelweard, his youngeſt ſon, who " was fond of learning, together with the ſons " of his nobility, and of many perſons of in- " ferior rank, in ſchools which he had eſta- " bliſhed with great wiſdom and foreſight, and

[110] Camd. Britan. t. 1. c. 304.

[111] Aſſer. Vita Alfredi, edit. a Camd. p. 20.

" pro-

" provided with able maſters. In theſe ſchools Cent. IX.
" the youth were inſtructed in reading and writ-
" ing both the Saxon and Latin languages, and
" in other liberal arts, before they arrived at ſuf-
" ficient ſtrength of body for hunting, and other
" manly exerciſes becoming their rank [112]." It is at leaſt certain, from what follows immediately after in Aſſerius, that the ſchools in which Æthelweard, and his fellow ſtudents were placed were different from thoſe in which his two elder brothers Edward and Elfthryth were educated, which were in the king's court [113]. There is another paſſage in Aſſerius, as publiſhed by Camden, relating to the univerſity of Oxford, which hath been the occaſion of much controverſy, ſome writers contending for its authenticity, and others affirming that it hath been interpolated. After examining the arguments on both ſides of this queſtion, which are too tedious to be here inſerted, I cannot help ſuſpecting the genuineneſs of this paſſage; but as I dare not poſitively pronounce it ſpurious, I ſhall lay it before the reader.
" The ſame year (886) there aroſe a great diſ-
" ſenſion at Oxford, between Grimbald and the
" learned men which he brought with him, and
" the old ſcholars which he found there, who
" refuſed to comply with the laws and forms of
" reading preſcribed by Grimbald. For about
" three years this difference occaſioned only a
" private grudge, which made no great noiſe;

[112] Aſſer. Vita Alfredi, edit. a Camd. p. 13. [113] Id. ibid.

" but

Cent. IX. " but at length it broke out with great violence. " The invincible king Alfred, being informed " of this by a meſſage and complaint from " Grimbald, haſtened to Oxford to put an end " to theſe diſputes, and heard both parties with " great patience. The old ſcholars pleaded in " their own defence, that before Grimbald came " to Oxford, learning flouriſhed there, though " the ſtudents were not ſo numerous as they had " formerly been, many of them having been ex- " pelled by the cruelties of the Pagans. They " further affirmed, and proved by the undoubted " teſtimony of ancient annals, that the laws and " ſtatutes of that place had been eſtabliſhed by " men of great piety and learning, as Gildas, " Melkin, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, who " had taught there in their old age, and had " managed all things with great tranquillity and " good order; and that when St. Germanus " came into Britain to preach againſt the Pela- " gian hereſy, he reſided ſix months at Oxford, " and greatly approved of its laws and inſtitu- " tions. The king having heard both parties " with incredible patience and humility, and " having earneſtly exhorted them to lay aſide " their diſputes, and live in peace and concord, " left them in hopes that they would comply " with his admonitions. But Grimbald, not " ſatisfied with this, retired to the new mo- " naſtery at Wincheſter, which king Alfred had " lately founded, and ſoon after had his tomb " brought thither alſo, which he had originally

" ſet

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" ſet up in a vault under the chancel in the " church of St. Peter at Oxford; which church " he had built from the foundation with ſtones " poliſhed with great art [114]." In a word, if Oxford had been a ſeat of learning in more ancient times, which it is certainly very difficult either to prove or diſprove, it appears to have been ſo entirely ruined, together with all the other ſeminaries of learning in England, in the beginning of king Alfred's reign, that this great prince may be juſtly ſtyled the father and founder of the univerſity of Oxford: a circumſtance equally honourable to his memory, and to this famous ſeat of learning!

Revival of learning.

When Alfred the Great had thus founded and endowed ſchools, and provided them with proper maſters, he next endeavoured to fill them with ſuitable ſcholars; which was not the eaſieſt part of his work in that rude age, when learning was held in ſuch contempt, eſpecially by the nobility. This illiberal and barbarous contempt of letters, he effectually deſtroyed in a little time,—by his own example,—by ſpeaking on all occaſions in praiſe of learning,—and by making it the great road to preferment, both in church and ſtate [115]. Still further to diffuſe a taſte for knowledge, and to tranſmit it to poſterity, he made a law, obliging all freeholders who poſſeſſed two hides of land, or upwards, to ſend their ſons to ſchool,

114 Aſſer. Vita Alfredi, edit. a Camd. p. 16.
115 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 4.

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and give them a liberal education[116]. By theſe wiſe meaſures, this moſt excellent prince made a total change in the ſentiments of his ſubjects. The old nobility bewailed their unhappineſs in being ignorant of letters, and ſome of them applied to ſtudy in a very advanced age; while all took care to ſend their ſons, and young relations, to thoſe ſchools provided for them by the wiſdom and munificence of their ſovereign[117]. In a word, learning revived and flouriſhed to ſuch a degree, in the courſe of Alfred's reign, that before the end of it he could boaſt, that all his biſhops ſees were filled by prelates of great learning, and every pulpit in England furniſhed with a good preacher. So aſtoniſhing are the effects which a great and good prince, animated with an ardent zeal for the happineſs of his ſubjects, can produce, not only in the circumſtances, but in the very ſpirit and character of a nation!

Cent. X. State of learning in the tenth century.

That gleam of light which appeared in England towards the concluſion of the ninth century, was not of long continuance; for as this was chiefly owing to the extraordinary genius and prodigious efforts of Alfred the Great, as ſoon as theſe were removed by the death of that prince, in the firſt year of the tenth century, learning began to languiſh and decline. Edward, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, had been educated with great care; but not having the ſame genius and

[116] Abbas Rievallenſis. [117] Aſſer. Vita Alfredi, p. 21.

taſte

taſte for ſtudy with his illuſtrious father, he did not prove ſo great a patron of learning and learned men[118]. The Danes, too, thoſe deſtructive enemies of ſcience and civility, no ſooner heard of the death of Alfred, than they renewed their ravages; which they continued, with little interruption, for many years. Beſides this, the learned men collected by Alfred from different countries, dying ſoon after their royal patron, were not ſucceeded by men of equal learning. Theſe, and ſeveral other unfavourable circumſtances, gave a fatal check to the liberal and ſtudious ſpirit which had been excited in the late reign; and the Engliſh by degrees relapſed into their former ignorance and contempt of learning. In this indeed, they were far from being ſingular at this period; for all the nations of Europe were involved in ſuch profound darkneſs during the whole courſe of the tenth century, that the writers of literary hiſtory are at a loſs for words to paint the ignorance, ſtupidity, and barbariſm of that age[119]. "We now enter, (ſays "one) on the hiſtory of an age, which, for its "barbariſm and wickedneſs, may be called the "age of iron; for its dulneſs and ſtupidity, the "age of lead; and for its blindneſs and "ignorance, the age of darkneſs[120]." "The "tenth century (ſays another) is commonly and Cent. X.

[118] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 5. Hoveden, pars prior.

[119] Cave, Hiſtor. Literar. p. 571. Brucker. Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 632.

[120] Baron. Annal. ad an. 900.

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" juſtly called the unhappy age; for it was " almoſt quite deſtitute of men of genius and " learning, had few great princes or good pre- " lates, and hardly any thing was performed in " it that merits the attention of poſterity[121]."

The many groſs errors, and wretched ſuperſtitions, that were either introduced or eſtabliſhed in the courſe of this century, ſuch as,—tranſubſtantiation,—the adoration of images and relics,—the baptiſm of bells,—the belief of the moſt childiſh ſtories of viſions, apparitions, and miracles,—the celibacy of the clergy,—trials by fire and water ordeals, &c. &c. were ſufficient proofs of its ignorance and ſtupidity. The popes who governed the church of Rome in this century, were for the moſt part the vileſt miſcreants that ever diſgraced human nature; and that city, where letters had hitherto been cultivated in ſome degree, now became a ſcene of ſuch deplorable ignorance, as well as wickedneſs, that a cotemporary writer cries out, " O " miſerable Rome! thou that formerly didſt " hold out ſo many great and glorious luminaries " to our anceſtors, into what prodigious dark- " neſs art thou now fallen, which will render " thee infamous to all ſucceeding ages[122]?"

The clergy in this age were almoſt as illiterate as the laity. Some who filled the higheſt ſtations in the church could not ſo much as read; while

[121] Genebrard. p. 552.

[122] Arnoldus Orleanenſis, apud Du Pin, Hiſt. Eccleſ. cent. 10.

others,

others, who pretended to be better ſcholars, and attempted to perform the public offices, committed the moſt egregious blunders; of which the reader will find one example, out of many, quoted below[123]. Cent. X.

When this was the melancholy ſtate of letters in all the nations of Europe, it cannot be ſuppoſed that England will furniſh us with many valuable materials for literary hiſtory in this age. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the decline of learning in this iſland, after the death of Alfred, was gradual, and that it required a conſiderable time to deſtroy all the effects of his labours for its advancement. Beſides though his ſon Edward, and his grandſon Athelſtan, were very far inferior to him in learning, and in their efforts for its ſupport; yet they had not ſo entirely forgotten his precepts and example as to be quite indifferent to its intereſts. On the contrary, they were not only the braveſt, but the moſt intelligent princes of their age, and the greateſt patrons of learning. England.

Edward, if we may believe ſome of our ancient hiſtorians, was the founder or reſtorer of the univerſity of Cambridge, as his father had been of Oxford. "Edward, ſurnamed the *Elder*, "ſucceeded his father Alfred the Great; and Univerſity of Cambridg

[123] Meinwerc, biſhop of Paderborn, in this century, in reading the public prayers, uſed to ſay,—"Benedic Domine regibus et reginis mulis et mulabis tuis:"—inſtead of famulis et famulabis; which made it a very ludicrous petition.

Leibnez Coll. Script. Brunſwic. t. 1. p. 555.

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" though he was not equal to him in learning, " yet he loved learned men, and advanced them " to eccleſiaſtical dignities, according to their " merits. For the further encouragement of " learning, he raiſed Cambridge, as his father " had done Oxford, to its former glory, after " it had been long in ruins, with all the other " ancient ſeminaries of learning; and, like a " generous friend and patron of the clergy, he " commanded halls for the teachers and ſtudents " to be built there at his own expence. To " render this inſtitution complete, he invited " teachers of the liberal arts, and doctors in " theology, from Oxford, and ſettled them at " Cambridge. Thus far Thomas Rodburn, in " his chronicle. But I have ſeen a more full " and authentic repreſentation of this in a certain " ancient painting in the abbey of Hyde, at " Wincheſter, which was ſent to me, and is " ſtill in my poſſeſſion[124]."——If the above account of the reſtoration of ſchools of learning at Cambridge, by Edward the Elder, is true, which I ſhall not take upon me either to affirm or deny, theſe ſchools, together with the city of Cambridge, were once more ruined by the Danes A. D. 1010, and do not ſeem to have been reſtored again till after the concluſion of the period we are now delineating[125]. Edward gave another proof of his regard to learning, by beſtowing a very liberal education on his five ſons and nine

[124] J. Roſſii Hiſt. Reg. Ang. p. 96. [125] Chron. Saxon. p. 140.

daughters,

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daughters, who excelled all the princes and princeſſes of their age in literary accompliſhments. Ethelward, his ſecond ſon, in particular, greatly reſembled his illuſtrious grandfather in genius and love of learning, as well as in his perſon; but unhappily died young[126]. Athelſtan, the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Edward, was a prince of uncommon learning for the age in which he lived. William of Malmſbury tells us, that a few days before he wrote the hiſtory of this king, he had read an old book written in his reign, that contained ſo flaming a panegyric on his extraordinary learning, that he did not think fit to inſert it in his work; becauſe he ſuſpected it was wrought up by the author beyond the truth, in order to gain the favour of Athelſtan[127]: a ſuſpicion which perhaps was not well founded. It appears from his laws, that this king was a friend to learning and learned men; by one of which it is decreed, "that if any man make ſuch "proficiency in learning as to obtain prieſt's "orders, he ſhall enjoy all the honours and pri-"vileges of a thane[128]." If it be true, that this prince employed certain learned Jews, who then reſided in England, to tranſlate the Old Teſtament out of Hebrew into Engliſh, that is a further proof of his attention both to learning and religion[129]. It muſt after all be confeſſed, that the efforts of Edward and Athelſtan, for the

126 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 5.
127 Id. ibid. p. 6.
128 Spelman, Concil. t. 1. p. 406.
129 Bal. de Scrip. Brit. p. 127.

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ſupport of learning, were not very ſucceſsful; for we meet with none who flouriſhed under their government, ſo famous for their erudition as to merit a place in this work.

St. Dunſtan celebrated for his learning by the monks.

The reigns of ſeveral ſucceeding kings were equally unfortunate in this reſpect; and England by degrees ſunk into the ſame profound darkneſs and ignorance with the other nations of Europe. Some of our monkiſh hiſtorians, it is true, ſpeak in the higheſt ſtrains of the prodigious learning of their great champion St. Dunſtan. "He excelled (ſays one of them) as much in "learning as he did in piety; and by his prodi- "gious diligence, and the amazing genius that "God had beſtowed upon him, he eaſily ac- "quired, and he long retained, all kinds of "knowledge; ſo that in a little time he became "equal in learning to his teachers, and far ſupe- "rior to all his fellow-ſcholars. So acute was "his reaſon, ſo lively his imagination, and ſo "admirable his elocution, that no man ever "conceived things with greater quickneſs, ex- "preſſed them with greater elegance, nor pro- "nounced them with greater ſweetneſs[130]." "At this time (ſays another) England was en- "lightened with many bright luminaries, like "ſo many ſtars from heaven; among whom St. "Dunſtan ſhone with ſuperior luſtre, and was, "next to king Alfred, the greateſt promoter of "learning that ever appeared in this iſland[131]."

[130] Oſbern Vita Dunſtan. p. 93. [131] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 8.

But

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But little credit can be given to theſe encomiums; for it became a kind of faſhion among the Engliſh monks in the middle ages, to heap all the praiſes on their patron Dunſtan that their imaginations could invent, without any regard to truth or probability. We are gravely told,—"That "in the days of St. Dunſtan, all men wor-"ſhipped God with fervour and ſincerity; that "the earth itſelf rejoiced, and the fields rewarded "the labours of the huſbandman with the moſt "abundant harveſts; that all the elements "ſmiled, and the face of heaven was never "obſcured with clouds; that there were no "ſuch things as fear, diſcord, oppreſſion, or "murder, but that all men lived in perfect vir-"tue and profound tranquillity; and that all "thoſe felicities flowed from the bleſſed St. "Dunſtan; for which, as well as for his mi-"racles, he was loaded with glory [132]." A picture very different from the real hiſtory of thoſe times.

Decline of learning.

After the death of Edgar the Peaceable, A. D. 975, England became a ſcene of great confuſion and miſery for many years, through the increaſing power and ſpreading devaſtations of the Danes. In theſe circumſtances learning could not flouriſh; but, on the contrary, was almoſt entirely ruined, together with its two moſt famous ſeminaries, Oxford and Cambridge, which were reduced to aſhes by thoſe barbarians [133].

[132] W. Malmſ. de Geſtis Pontificum Anglor. p. 115.
[133] Chron. Saxon. p. 139, 140.

Elfric

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Life of Elfric the grammarian.

Elfric the grammarian is the only man who flouriſhed in England in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, that merits a place in this work on account of his erudition. This learned man, and voluminous writer, whoſe hiſtory is very much perplexed, was born about the middle of the tenth century, and educated under Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter, who is ſaid to have taken great pleaſure in teaching youth the rules of grammar, and the art of tranſlating Latin books into Engliſh[134]. While Elfric was ſtill a young man, and only in the ſtation of a private monk, he was famous for his learning, as appears from a letter of his to Wulfin biſhop of Shereburn, prefixed to a ſet of canons, or rather an epiſcopal charge, which he had drawn up at the requeſt and for the uſe of that prelate, who was probably not equal to a work of that kind himſelf[135]. Being ſent by Elphegus biſhop of Wincheſter, A. D. 987, to the monaſtery of Cerne in Dorſetſhire, then newly founded, he there compoſed his grammar of the Latin tongue, which procured him the title of *the Grammarian*, and tranſlated out of Latin into Saxon no fewer than eighty ſermons or homilies for the uſe of the Engliſh clergy[136]. Theſe homilies are ſtill extant in MS. in two volumes folio; and are well deſcribed by Mr. Wanley in his catalogue of

[134] Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 130.

[135] Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 572. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 130.

[136] Id. ibid.

Saxon

Saxon books[137]. Elfric compoſed ſeveral other works; which procured him ſo great a reputation for learning, that he was on that account advanced, by degrees, to the archiepiſcopal dignity. Cent. X.

While learning was thus gradually declining throughout all the kingdoms of Europe, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the light of ſcience began to ſpring up in the Eaſt, among the Perſians and Arabians; and the poſterity of thoſe fierce barbarians who had burnt the famous library of Alexandria, became the fondeſt admirers of the ſciences[138]. By them they were preſerved, when they were almoſt entirely loſt in all other parts of the world; and it was through them that the knowledge of ancient learning was gradually reſtored to the ſeveral nations of Europe. Learning cultivated in the Eaſt.

The illuſtrious Gerbert, preceptor to Robert I. king of France, and to Otho III. emperor of Germany, who flouriſhed towards the concluſion of the tenth century, was the firſt of the Chriſtian clergy who had reſolution to apply to the followers of Mahomet, for that inſtruction in the ſciences which he could not obtain in any part of the Chriſtian world. This literary hero (as he may be juſtly called) was educated in the monaſtery of Fleury: but diſcovering the incapacity of his teachers, and prompted by an ardent Life of Gerbert.

137 Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 2. p. 1.
138 Montucla Hiſt. Mathemat. t. 1. p. 339.

thirſt

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thirſt for knowledge, he fled from his monaſtery into Spain, and ſpent ſeveral years among the Saracens at Corduba [139]. Here he made himſelf maſter of the language and learning of the Arabians; particularly of their aſtronomy, geometry, and arithmetic; in all of which they very much excelled. At his return into France, he was eſteemed by ſome the moſt learned man, and by others the greateſt magician, of his age [140]. All the nations in the north and weſt of Europe are particularly indebted to Gerbert for the firſt hints they received of the Arabian numeral figures and arithmetic. Our countryman William of Malmſbury, after telling us, that it was reported that Gerbert had been taught by the Saracens in Spain, to raiſe the devil, and to underſtand the language of birds, adds,—"It is, however, very "certain, that he was the firſt who ſtole the "knowledge of the Arabian arithmetic from the "Saracens, aud taught the rules of it, which "ſtill continue to engage the attention and per-"plex the minds of our arithmeticians [141]." As Gerbert returned into France, A. D. 970, and began to communicate the knowledge which he had collected among the Saracens, it is not improbable, that ſome of the literati in Britain might be acquainted with the Arabian cyphers and arithmetic, in the end of this century, or the beginning of the next; which is much earlier

[139] W. Malmſ. l. 2, c. 10. [140] Id. ibid.
[141] Id. ibid.

than

than is commonly believed [142]. If the date over the very ancient gateway at Worceſter was really A. D. 975, and in Arabian figures, we have direct evidence that theſe figures were known in England within five years after Gerbert's return from Spain [143]. However this may be, this adventurous ſcholar, though born of mean parents, was gradually advanced, on account of his genius and erudition, from one eccleſiaſtical dignity to another, and at laſt placed, by his pupil Otho III. in the papal chair, where he aſſumed the name of *Sylveſter* II [144]. So much was preeminence in learning eſteemed, and ſo well was it rewarded, even in that dark age! Cent. X.

As little more than one half of the eleventh century falls within our preſent period, it will furniſh few materials for literary hiſtory. The power of the Danes, and the confuſion and miſery thereby occaſioned, which had been ſo fatal to learning in the former century, ſtill continued to increaſe in the beginning of this, and to produce the ſame effects. Oxford was reduced to aſhes by thoſe deſtructive ravagers A. D. 1009, and Cambridge ſhared the ſame fate the year after; by which all the eſtabliſhments in theſe places, in favour of learning, and for the education of youth, whatever they were, muſt have been ruined [145]. In this moſt calamitous period, Cent. XI. State of learning in the eleventh century.

142 See Dr. Wallis's Algebra, c. 3, 4.
143 See Philoſoph. Tranſact. vol. 39. p. 131.
144 Du Pin Hiſt. Eccleſ. cent. 10.
145 Chron. Saxon. p. 139, 140.

the

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the greateſt part of the monaſteries, churches, cities, and towns in England, were deſtroyed; and whoever will take the trouble to read the hiſtory of the firſt ſeventeen years of the eleventh century in the Saxon Chronicle, the moſt authentic monument of thoſe times, will meet with ſuch a ſucceſſion of ſlaughter and devaſtation, that he will be ſurpriſed the Engliſh were not extirpated, and their country reduced to a perfect deſert. We have no reaſon to wonder, therefore, that the muſes fled from ſuch a ſcene of horror and miſery, and that the cultivation of learning was almoſt univerſally neglected.

State of learning under the Daniſh kings of England.

The calamities which the Engliſh had ſuffered in their long ſtruggle with the Danes were ſo very great, that their ſubjection to the Daniſh yoke became a kind of bleſſing. For Canute the Great, the firſt king of England of the Daniſh line, being a wiſe, juſt, and good prince, treated his Engliſh ſubjects with equity and kindneſs, and endeavoured to repair the injuries which had been done to the country and its inhabitants in the late wars. In particular, he ſaw and lamented the low ſtate to which learning was reduced, and founded ſchools in many places for its revival [146]. It is highly probable at leaſt, that this prince repaired the ſchools at Oxford, and reſtored to them their former privileges and revenues [147]. Harold, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Canute, was a very great barbarian, and conſe-

[145] A. Wood, Antiquitat. Univerſ. Oxon. p. 43. [147] Id. ibid.

quently

quently an enemy to learning. Of this he gave sufficient proof by his plundering the university of Oxford of the revenues which had been bestowed upon it by its illustrious founder, and restored to it by Canute the Great. "The schools "(says Leland) which had been founded by "Alfred the Great, and had long flourished at "Oxford, were abused, spoiled, and dishonoured, "by that cruel and barbarous Dane king Ha- "rold; who plundered them of all the revenues "which had been bestowed upon them by the "munificence of former princes; thinking that "he treated the scholars with great lenity when "he left them the naked walls of their "houses[148]." Cent. XI.

The restoration of the ancient line of the Anglo-Saxon kings, A. D. 1041, in the person of Edward the Confessor, was an event favourable to learning. For though Edward was not a great prince, he was not unlearned for the age in which he lived, nor inattentive to the interests of learning. He repaired the injuries which his predecessor Harold had done to Oxford, which, in his reign (as we learn from Ingulphus), seems to have been the chief seminary of learning in England. "I was born (says "that writer) in England, and of English pa- "rents, in the beautiful city of London; edu- "cated in letters in my tender years at West- "minster; from whence I was afterwards sent State of learning in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

[148] A. Wood, Antiquitat. Univers. Oxon. p. 43.

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" to the ſtudy of Oxford; where I made greater " progreſs in the Ariſtotelian philoſophy than " many of my cotemporaries, and became very " well acquainted with the rhetoric of Ci- " cero [149]." This author further acquaints us, that when he was a boy at Weſtminſter ſchool, and uſed to viſit his father, who lived in the court of Edward the Confeſſor, he was often examined, both on the Latin language and on logic, by the beautiful and virtuous queen Edgitha, who excelled in both theſe branches of literature [150]. A proof that learning was then eſteemed a faſhionable accompliſhment even in ladies of the higheſt rank.

General obſervations on the ſtate of learning.

Having thus deduced the hiſtory of learning through its various revolutions, from the beginning to the end of this dark period, it may be proper to conclude this chapter with a few general obſervations.

Difficulties of acquiring learning in this period.

That we may not entertain too contemptible an opinion of our forefathers, who flouriſhed in the benighted ages which we are now examining, it is neceſſary to pay due attention to their unhappy circumſtances. To ſay nothing of that contempt for letters which they derived from their anceſtors, and of the almoſt inceſſant wars in which they were engaged, it was difficult, or rather impoſſible, for any but the clergy, and a very few of the moſt wealthy among the laity, to obtain the leaſt ſmattering of learning; be-

[149] Ingulphi Hiſtor. [150] Id. Ibid.

cauſe

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cauſe all the means of acquiring it were far beyond their reach. It is impoſſible to learn to read and write even our own native tongue, which is now hardly eſteemed a part of learning, without books, maſters, and materials for writing; but in thoſe ages all theſe were ſo extremely ſcarce and dear, that none but great princes and wealthy prelates could procure them. We have already heard of a large eſtate given by a king of Northumberland for a ſingle volume; and the hiſtory of the middle ages abounds with examples of that kind[151]. How then was it poſſible for perſons of a moderate fortune to procure ſo much as one book, much leſs ſuch a number of books as to make their learning to read an accompliſhment that would reward their trouble? It was then as difficult to borrow books as to buy them. It is a ſufficient proof of this that a king of France was obliged to depoſit a conſiderable quantity of plate, and to get one of his nobility to join with him in a bond, under a high penalty, to return it, before he could procure the loan of one volume, which may now be purchaſed for a few ſhillings[152]. Materials for writing were alſo very ſcarce and dear, which made few perſons think of learning that art. This was one reaſon of the ſcarcity of books; and that great eſtates were often transferred from one owner to another by a mere verbal agree-

[151] Murat. Antiq. t. 3. p. 835.

[152] Hiſt. de Louis XI. par Comines, t. 4. p. 281.

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ment, and the delivery of earth and ſtone, before witneſſes, without any written deed [153]. Parchment, in particular, on which all their books were written, was ſo difficult to be procured, that many of the MSS. of the middle ages, which are ſtill preſerved, appear to have been written on parchment from which ſome former writing had been eraſed [154]. But if books and materials for writing were in thoſe ages ſo ſcarce, good maſters, who were capable of teaching the ſciences to any purpoſe, were ſtill ſcarcer, and more difficult to be procured. When there was not one man in England to the ſouth of the Thames who underſtood Latin, it was not poſſible to learn that language, without ſending for a teacher from ſome foreign country. In theſe circumſtances, can we be ſurpriſed, that learning was ſo imperfect, and in ſo few hands? The temple of Science was then but a homely fabric, with few charms to allure worſhippers, and at the ſame time ſurrounded with ſteep and rugged precipices, which diſcouraged their approach. When Alfred the Great formed the deſign of rendering learning more general than it had formerly been, he never dreamed of extending it to the common people, which he knew was quite impracticable, but only obliged perſons of rank and fortune, by a law, to ſend their ſons to ſchool; and we have good reaſon to believe, that this was eſteemed

153 Ingulph. Hiſt. 154 Murator. Antiquitat. t. 3. p. 834.

a very

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a very hard law, and that it was not long obeyed.

Methods of teaching the ſciences, particularly arithmetic, muſic, &c.

Beſides the great difficulty of procuring maſters who were capable of teaching the ſciences, in the times we are now conſidering, the perplexing incommodious methods in which they were taught, rendered the acquiſition of a moderate degree of knowledge a very tedious and laborious work. How difficult, for example, was the acquiſition of arithmetic in this period, before the introduction of the Arabian figures, when the teachers of this ſcience had no other marks for numbers but the following ſeven letters of the Roman alphabet, M D C L X V I, or the twenty-ſeven letters of the Greek alphabet[155]? We are apt to be ſurpriſed to hear Aldhelm, the moſt learned and ingenious man of the age in which he lived, ſpeaking of arithmetic as a ſcience almoſt exceeding the utmoſt powers of the human mind, when we know that it is now acquired by every boy of a common capacity, with great eaſe, and in a little time[156]. But our ſurpriſe will ceaſe, when we reflect on the great facility of expreſſing and managing numbers by the help of the Arabian figures, which were then unknown, but are now in common uſe: "The uſefulneſs (ſays an excellent "judge) of theſe numeral figures, which we re- "ceived from the Arabs, and they from the In-

[155] See Bedæ Opera, Colonæ, A. D. 1612, p. 8.
[156] See p. 15.

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" dians, is exceeding great in all parts of arith-
" metic; infomuch that we, to whom it is now
" known, cannot but wonder how it was poſ-
" ſible for the ancients to manage great num-
" bers without it. And certainly ſuch vaſt
" numbers as we are now wont to conſider,
" could not in any tolerable way be managed,
" if we had no other way of deſigning numbers
" than by the Latin numeral letters MDCLXVI.
" It is true the ancients had the ſame way of
" diſtributing numbers that we have, collecting
" units into tens, and tens into hundreds, and
" hundreds into thouſands, and thouſands into
" myriads, &c.; but they wanted a convenient
" way of notation, or deſignation of them, pro-
" portional to that diſtribution; inſomuch that
" when they came to thouſands or myriads, they
" had ſcarce any more convenient ways of de-
" ſigning them than by words at length for
" want of figures [157]." It was probably this want of figures that give riſe to digital or manual arithmetic; in which numbers were expreſſed, and calculations made, by the different poſitions of the hands and fingers. This appears to us a childiſh play; but it was then a ſerious ſtudy, and is explained at great length by venerable Bede [158]. Mankind commonly fall upon various contrivances for accompliſhing their deſigns, before they hit upon that which is at once the moſt eaſy and the moſt effectual. In this

[157] Wallis's Algebra, c. 5. [158] Bedæ Opera, p. 127, &c.

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period, muſic was a moſt important part of a learned education, and one of the four ſciences which conſtituted the *quadrivium*, or higheſt claſs of philoſophical learning. But the modes of teaching both the theory and practice of muſic, were ſo imperfect and incommodious, that the youth commonly ſpent nine or ten years in the ſtudy of it, to no great purpoſe, until Guydo Aretin, a monk of St. Croix in Italy in the eleventh century, invented the ſcale or gamut now uſed, which greatly facilitated the acquiſition of this ſcience [159]. The ſame obſervation might be made concerning the methods of teaching geometry, aſtronomy, and all the other ſciences. Theſe methods were ſo imperfect and perplexed, that it required much longer time, and greater degree of genius and application, to make any proficiency in theſe ſciences, than it doth at preſent. For theſe reaſons, we ought rather to felicitate ourſelves on the happineſs of our circumſtances for the acquiſition of knowledge, than to boaſt of our ſuperior talents, or inſult the memory of our anceſtors on account of their ignorance, which was in a great meaſure unavoidable.

Some ſciences not mentioned in the above hiſtory.

Every intelligent and attentive reader muſt have obſerved, that ſeveral branches of learning, which are now in high eſteem, and much ſtudied, have hardly been mentioned in the preceding hiſtory, as particularly geography, law, and me-

[159] Bruckeri Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 654.

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dicine. This hath not been owing to inattention, far leſs to any degree of diſregard to theſe parts of learning, whoſe importance and utility are undeniable, but to the real ſtate of things in the ages we are now examining, in which theſe ſciences were very much neglected. A few obſervations, however, upon the ſtate of theſe, and ſome other branches of learning, in this period, may not be improper in this place.

State of geography.

The prodigious extent of the Roman empire made the knowledge of geography neceſſary to government, and at the ſame time rendered the acquiſition of it eaſy; but when that mighty empire was torn in pieces by the barbarous nations, the connection between its provinces was diſſolved, and their geography neglected: for each of theſe illiterate nations, anxious to preſerve the province which it had ſeized, had little or no curioſity to know the ſituation and ſtate of other countries; and the intercourſe between theſe nations for ſeveral ages was very inconſiderable [160]. To the inhabitants of one country, in this dark period, all the other countries of the world were *terræ incognitæ;* of which they knew nothing, and about which they gave themſelves little or no concern. Even the learned men of thoſe ages being chiefly monks, confined to their cells, had little deſire, and leſs opportunity, of knowing the ſituation, extent, cli-

160 See Dr. Robertſon's excellent Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. 1. p. 325.

mate,

mate, ſoil, productions, &c. of the ſeveral countries of the world. At preſent, indeed, a man may become an excellent geographer, without ſtirring out of his elbow-chair, by the help of books, globes, charts, maps, and maſters; but at that time they had no ſuch means of obtaining this kind of knowledge. Travellers were alſo very few; and theſe few were either pilgrims or merchants, who travelled in queſt of relics or of riches, and not of geographical knowledge. When all theſe circumſtances are duly conſidered, we ſhall not be much ſurpriſed that geography was ſo much neglected, and ſo little known, in the ages we are now delineating. Cent. XI.

The Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, and for a century and a half after, had no written laws, but were governed by certain ancient and well-known cuſtoms, like their anceſtors in Germany[161]. In that period, therefore, law could not be conſidered as a ſcience. Even after their laws were committed to writing, they were for a long time ſo ſhort, plain, and inartificial, that little ſtudy was required to underſtand them. Accordingly the far greateſt part of the aldermen, ſheriffs, and other judges of England, were for ſeveral ages very illiterate; and Alfred the Great was the firſt of our Engliſh kings who made the knowledge of letters a neceſſary qualification in thoſe who were concerned in the State of law.

[161] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 19.

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adminiſtration of juſtice [162]. But that knowledge, which from thenceforward was eſteemed requiſite in a judge, could hardly be called learning; becauſe it conſiſted in little more than a capacity of reading the doom-book in his mother-tongue. This ſeems to have been all that was required of thoſe who were called law-men and wiſe-men, who were choſen to be ſheriffs, judges, and aſſeſſors to the aldermen, in their county courts [163]. Though ſome collections of the laws and canons of the church were made in the eleventh century, the canon law had not acquired ſo much authority, or aſſumed ſuch a regular form, as to be taught or ſtudied as a ſcience in the ſeminaries of learning in this period [164].

State of medicine.

The deſire of life and health is ſo natural to mankind, that the means of preſerving theſe, and of healing wounds, bruiſes, fractures, &c. have been ſome part of their ſtudy in all countries, and in all ages. But among illiterate nations, like the Anglo-Saxons, the means employed for theſe purpoſes are not commonly the reſult of ſtudy and rational inveſtigation; but conſiſt in certain pretended ſecrets, or noſtrums, handed down from one age to another, accompanied with many whimſical rites and incantations, to which they are ſuppoſed to owe their

162 Aſſer. vita Alfredi, p. 21.
163 Murator. Antiquitat. t. 1. p 487, &c.
164 Brucker. Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 3. p. 655.

ſucceſs.

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ſucceſs. In this ſtate of things, theſe medical ſecrets are for the moſt part in the poſſeſſion of the moſt ignorant of the people; particularly of old women, who were the moſt admired phyſicians among our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, and ſeveral other nations, in the dark ages we are now examining. "One reaſon (ſays a learned "antiquary) of the great influence of the wo-"men among the northern nations, is this: "while the men are employed in hunting and "war, the women, having much time upon "their hands, ſpend ſome part of it in ga-"thering and preparing herbs, for healing "wounds and curing diſeaſes; and being na-"turally ſuperſtitious, they adminiſter their me-"dicines with many religious rites and cere-"monies, which excite admiration, and make "the men believe that they are poſſeſſed of cer-"tain ſupernatural ſecrets, and a kind of di-"vine ſkill[165]." After the Anglo-Saxons had embraced the Chriſtian religion, they did not look with ſo favourable an eye on thoſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies; and when the clergy began to apply a little to learning, they became dangerous rivals to the medical old women, who gradually ſunk in their reputation. It appears, however, from many ſtories of miraculous cures related by the beſt of our ancient hiſtorians, that theſe clerical doctors were almoſt as ſuperſtitious as their female predeceſſors, and depended more on

[165] Keyſler Antiquitat. Septentrion. p. 374.

the

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the virtues of holy water than of the medicines which they adminiſtered[166]. After Alfred the Great ſet the example of tranſlating books out of Latin into the Saxon language, ſome medical books were tranſlated into that tongue; particularly L. Apuleius, concerning the virtues of herbs, which is ſtill preſerved in the Bodleian library, and is deſcribed by Mr. Wanley in his catalogue of Saxon books[167]. By this, and other means, a few of the moſt ſtudious and inquiſitive of the clergy, and others, acquired ſome knowledge of phyſic; and before the concluſion of this period, there ſeem to have been ſome phyſicians, or rather ſurgeons, by profeſſion, particularly in the courts of princes. In the court of the kings of Wales, the phyſician was the twelfth perſon in rank, and appears to have been chiefly employed in healing wounds and broken bones; for which he had by law certain eſtabliſhed fees[168]. For curing a fleſh-wound that was not dangerous, this court phyſician was allowed no other perquiſite but ſuch of the garments of the wounded perſon as were ſtained with blood; but for curing any of the three dangerous or mortal wounds, he was allowed a fee of one hundred and eighty pence, and his maintenance, or of one pound without his maintenance, beſides the blood-ſtained garments. The three dangerous or mortal wounds were

166 Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

167 Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 2. p. 72. 168 Leges Wallicæ, p. 44, &c.

theſe;

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theſe;—a wound on the head that diſcovered the ſcull,—a wound in the trunk of the body that diſcovered any of the viſcera,—and the fracture of the legs or arms. If the court-phyſician performed the operation of the trepan in curing a wound in the head, he was allowed four pence extraordinary for performing that operation. When he made uſe of the red ointment in curing a wound, he might charge twelve pence for it; but when he uſed an ointment made of herbs, he could only charge four pence [169]. We are not told the ingredients nor the manner of preparing theſe ointments; and in general, it may be affirmed, that we are not furniſhed with authentic materials for compoſing a minute and particular hiſtory of phyſic in the Anglo-Saxon times.

The darkeſt period ended.

The moſt agreeable reflection that can be made on the ſtate of learning in Britain in the period we have been examining, is this,—That we have now paſſed through the moſt obſcure uncomfortable part of that long night in which Great Britain, and all the other nations of Europe, were involved after the fall of the Roman empire, and are happily arrived upon the verge of day. For ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of the Norman race of kings on the throne of England, ſeveral events happened which contributed to diſpel that profound darkneſs which had ſo long prevailed, and to uſher in the morning-

[169] Leges Wallicæ, p. 44, &c.

light

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light of learning; ſo that we may ſafely promiſe thoſe who have had the patience to attend us in this moſt gloomy part of our journey, more agreeable entertainment in all the ſucceeding ſtages.

" ———Now at laſt the ſacred influence
" Of light appears, and from the walls of heaven
" Shoots far into the boſom of dim night
" A glimmering dawn [170]."

[170] Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, Book 2, ſub fin.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

CHAP. V.

The hiſtory of Arts in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449, to the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066.

THE arts are ſo neceſſary to the ſupport, and ſo conducive to the comfort of human life, that they are of the greateſt importance to mankind in every age and country. Without the arts, the natural fecundity of the earth, the genial warmth of the ſun, and the regular revolutions of the ſeaſons, are of ſmall avail: but by the almoſt creative power of art, barren deſerts are converted into fertile fields, covered with lowing herds, or golden harveſts, interſperſed with pleaſant villages, populous towns, and crowded cities. By the help of art, mankind

Importance of the arts.

kind acquire a kind of dominion over nature, penetrate into the bowels of the earth, travel over the waves of the ſea on the wings of the wind, and make all the elements ſubſervient to their purpoſes. In one word, the arts are the great means of promoting the populouſneſs, power, and greatneſs, of ſtates and kingdoms, as well as the felicity of individuals; and therefore few, we apprehend, will blame us for giving them a place in hiſtory. If this had been always done, the annals of mankind would have been more inſtructive and entertaining than they are. But, unhappily, the muſe of hiſtory hath been ſo much in love with Mars, that ſhe hath converſed but little with Minerva.

Decline of the arts in Britain.

The arts, like all other human things, are liable to viciſſitudes: they often change their ſeats; and flouriſh at one time, and languiſh at another, in the ſame country. In the Roman times, as we have already ſeen, the arts were in a very flouriſhing ſtate in this iſland, particularly in provincial Britain[1]. But when the Roman power began to decline, the arts began to languiſh; and the moſt ſkilful artiſts of all kinds, dreading the depredations of the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, and finding neither ſecurity nor employment in this iſland, gradually retired to the continent. The final departure of the Romans, with the arrival of the Saxons, and the ruinous wars that followed, finiſhed the deſtruction of

[1] See book 1. c. 5.

the

the arts. For the daſtardly unwarlike Britons, not daring to face their fierce invaders in the field, took ſhelter behind thoſe walls and ramparts which the Romans had erected; which drew upon *them* the deſperate attacks of the Saxons, who never reſted till they had laid them all in ruins. In the courſe of theſe wars, one city was taken and deſtroyed after another; ſo that, before the full eſtabliſhment of the heptarchy, almoſt all the beautiful monuments of Roman art and induſtry in Britain were ruined or defaced. An ancient writer who was an eyewitneſs of theſe ſcenes of deſolation, hath painted them in very ſtrong colours. "A fire was "kindled by the ſacrilegious hands of the "Saxons, which ſpread from city to city, and "never ceaſed until it had burnt up the whole "ſurface of the iſland, from ſea to ſea, with "its flaming tongue. The walls of all the colo-"nies were beat down to the ground with bat-"tering rams, and their inhabitants ſlain with "the point of the ſword. Nothing was to be "ſeen in the ſtreets, O horrible to relate! but "fragments of ruined towers, temples, and "walls, fallen from their lofty ſeats, beſprinkled "with blood, and mixed with mangled car-"caſes[a]." This barbarous and deſtructive method of proceeding was partly owing to the natural ferocity of the Saxons, and partly to the obſtinate reſiſtance of the Britons; by which

[a] Hiſtoria Gildæ, c. 24.

that

that beautiful country, which the one ſtruggled to conquer, and the other to defend, was ſtripped of all its ornaments in the ſcuffle. At the end of thoſe long wars, when the Saxons obtained poſſeſſion of the fineſt provinces of Britain, by the extirpation of their ancient inhabitants, they were really a barbarous and unhappy people, deſtitute of the moſt deſirable accommodations, and of the arts by which they are procured; without models to imitate, or maſters to teach them theſe arts. By this means we are once more reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of viewing the arts, both neceſſary and ornamental, in a very rude imperfect ſtate. An unpleaſant object! on which our readers of the beſt taſte will not wiſh us to dwell long.

Plan of this chapter.

In delineating the ſtate of the arts in this period, we ſhall obſerve the ſame order as in the former; beginning with thoſe which are neceſſary to the ſupport and preſervation of human life, and may therefore be called the neceſſary arts; and concluding with thoſe which adminiſter to its delight, and may therefore be called the pleaſing or ornamental arts.

Arts of procuring food.

As nothing is ſo neceſſary to the preſervation of human life as food, thoſe arts by which it is procured muſt be of all others the moſt neceſſary; which are chiefly theſe four, hunting, paſturage, fiſhing, and agriculture.

Hunting.

Cæſar and Tacitus ſeem to differ in their accounts of the ancient Germans, the anceſtors of the Anglo-Saxons, with reſpect to hunting; the former

former affirming, that they ſpent their whole time in hunting when they were not engaged in war; and the latter, that when they were not at war, they were not very much addicted to hunting, but ſpent the greateſt part of their time in idleneſs or feaſting [3]. The reaſon of theſe different accounts, which were probably both true, ſeems to be this, that when Cæſar wrote, which was near two centuries before Tacitus, hunting was not merely an amuſement among the Germans, but an art on which they very much depended for their ſubſiſtence; but when Tacitus wrote, agriculture was ſo much improved, that hunting was no longer a neceſſary art, but rather a diverſion, which they followed only when they were prompted by inclination, and not by neceſſity. However this may be, it is ſufficiently certain, that though our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors did not diſdain to uſe the game which they had caught in hunting, yet they did not very much depend upon it for their ſubſiſtence; and therefore as hunting amongſt them was rather a diverſion than a neceſſary art, it will fall more naturally in our way in another place [4].

Paſturage.

At the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, this iſland abounded in numerous flocks and herds, which theſe conquerors ſeized, and paſtured for their own uſe; and after their ſettlement they ſtill continued to follow paſturage as one of the

3 Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 21. Tacit de morib. German. c. 15.

4 See Chap. 7.

chief means of their ſubſiſtence. This is evident from the great number of laws that were made in the Anglo-Saxon times, for regulating the prices of all kinds of tame cattle, directing the manner in which they were to be paſtured, and for preſerving them from thieves, robbers, and beaſts of prey [5]. As the Welſh in this period, from the nature of their country, and other circumſtances, depended ſtill more on their flocks and herds for their ſupport, their laws reſpecting paſturage were more numerous and minute than thoſe of the Saxons [6]. From theſe laws we learn, among many other particulars which need not be mentioned, that all the cattle of a village, though belonging to different owners, were paſtured together in one herd, under the direction of one perſon (with proper aſſiſtants); whoſe oath, in all diſputes about the cattle under his care, was deciſive [7].

Fiſhing. When we conſider the ſituation of the countries inhabited by our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, both on the continent and in this iſland, having ſo great a tract of ſea-coaſt, and ſo many fine rivers, abounding with fiſh of all kinds, we can hardly ſuppoſe that they were ignorant of the art of fiſhing. We are aſſured, however, by venerable Bede, that the South-Saxons were ſo ignorant of this very neceſſary and uſeful art, that they could catch no other fiſh but eels, till they

[5] Wilkins Leges Saxon. paſſim. [6] Leges Wallicæ, paſſim.
[7] Id. p. 94.

were

were inſtructed by Wilfred biſhop of York, and his followers, who took ſhelter in their country A. D. 678. The people of the little kingdom of Suſſex were at this time afflicted with ſuch a dreadful famine, that great numbers of them periſhed with hunger, and others precipitated themſelves from the rocks into the ſea in deſpair. "When the biſhop (ſays Bede) came "into this kingdom, and beheld the miſerable "havock that was made by the famine, he "taught the poor people to procure ſome ſuſ- "tenance for themſelves by fiſhing. For though "their ſea and rivers abounded with fiſh, they "had not ſkill to catch any of them but a few "eels. Having, therefore, collected all the "eel-nets he could procure, the biſhop ſent his "own ſervants, with ſome others, out to ſea; "where, by the divine bleſſing, they caught "three hundred fiſhes, of various kinds; which "he divided into three equal parts, beſtowing "one hundred on the poor people of the coun- "try, another on thoſe to whom the nets be- "longed, and keeping the third for the uſe of "his own family. The biſhop gained the af- "fections of the people of Suſſex to a won- "derful degree, by teaching them this uſeful "art; and they liſtened more willingly to his "preaching, from whom they had received ſo "great a temporal benefit [8]." After the Chriſtian religion was fully eſtabliſhed in all the king-

[8] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 14.

doms of the heptarchy, the art of fiſhing became neceſſary on a religious account, as both the clergy and laity lived, ſome part of the year, chiefly on fiſh. This art ſeems to have been practiſed chiefly, if not wholly, by a particular ſet of ſlaves, in thoſe times, who were bought and ſold, together with their wives and children, the implements of their trade, and the places where they fiſhed [9]. We learn alſo from the laws of Ina king of Weſſex, that ſome part of the rent of thoſe farms which lay on the banks of rivers was paid in fiſh; which obliged the ceorls who occupied thoſe farms to employ ſome of their ſlaves in fiſhing [10].

Agriculture among the Britons.

As agriculture is one of the moſt excellent and uſeful arts, and the chief means of improving and increaſing the productions of the earth, for the ſupport of human life, it merits our particular attention in every period. We have already ſeen, that this noble art had been carried to ſo great perfection in provincial Britain in the flouriſhing times of the Roman government, that it afforded very great quantities of corn annually for exportation [11]. But agriculture, like all the other arts, declined with the declenſion of the Roman power in Britain, and was almoſt deſtroyed by the departure of that induſtrious people. This, however, was not ſo much owing to want of ſkill in the Britiſh huſbandmen, who had been inſtructed by the Romans, as to the

9 Du Cange Gloſſ. voc. Piſcatores.

10 Spelman Gloſſ. voc. Firma.

11 See vol. 2. p. 107.

cruel

cruel and frequent incurſions of the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, who both deſtroyed the fruits of their labours, and interrupted them in the exerciſe of their art. For when they enjoyed ſome reſpite from theſe incurſions for a few years, and were allowed to cultivate their lands in peace, theſe produced, as we are told by Gildas, the greateſt abundance of all kinds of grain [12]. After the arrival of the Saxons, the unhappy Britons were involved in ſuch long wars, and ſo many calamities, that they gradually loſt much of their ſkill in agriculture, and were at laſt expelled from thoſe parts of their country that were fitteſt for cultivation. We need not be ſurpriſed, therefore, that the poſterity of the ancient Britons, after they were confined to the mountains of Wales, were but unſkilful huſbandmen; and that they applied more to paſturage than to agriculture. This is evident from their laws, by which many mulcts, and even the prices of men's lives of all ranks, are appointed to be paid in cattle [13]. It appears, however, from theſe very laws, that agriculture was conſidered by the ancient Britons of this period as an object of very great importance, and made the ſubject of many regulations. By one of theſe laws, they were prohibited to plough with horſes, mares, or cows, but only with oxen [14]. Their ploughs ſeem to have been very ſlight and inartificial; for it was

[12] Hiſtoria Gildæ, c. 19.
[13] Leges Wallicæ, p. 26—72. 201, 202, 203.
[14] Id. p. 283.

enacted, that no man ſhould undertake to guide a plough who could not make one; and that the driver ſhould make the ropes of twiſted willows, with which it was drawn [15]. But ſlight as theſe ploughs were, it was uſual for ſix or eight perſons to form themſelves into a ſociety for fitting out one of them, and providing it with oxen, and every thing neceſſary for ploughing; and many minute and curious laws were made for the regulation of ſuch ſocieties [16]. This is a ſufficient proof both of the poverty of the huſbandmen, and of the imperfect ſtate of agriculture among the ancient Britons, in this period. If any perſon laid dung upon a field, with the conſent of the proprietor, he was by law allowed the uſe of it for one year; and if the dung was carried out on a cart, in great abundance, he was allowed the uſe of the field, for three years. Whoever cut down a wood, and converted the ground into arable, with the conſent of the owner, was to have the uſe of it five years. If any man folded his cattle for a whole year upon a piece of ground belonging to another, with his conſent, he was allowed to cultivate that ground for his own benefit four years [17]. All theſe laws were evidently made for the encouragement of agriculture, by increaſing the quantity, and improving the quality of their arable grounds. The Britiſh legiſlators of this period

[15] Leges Wallicæ, p. 283. [16] Id. ibid.
[17] Id. p. 52, &c.

diſcover

diſcover the greateſt poſſible anxiety for the preſervation of the fruits of the earth, and the labours of the huſbandman; there being no fewer than eighty-ſix laws made for guarding them from every injury, or for repairing the injuries which they ſuſtained [18]. Nor was all this care unneceſſary, in an open country, where cattle very much abounded, and corn was very ſcarce and precious. It is highly probable that agriculture was in the ſame, or perhaps in a more imperfect ſtate, among the Scots and Picts, in the northern parts of this iſland; though we can ſay nothing with certainty on that ſubject, for want of authentic monuments. The ancient Britons in this period were not abſolutely ignorant of the art of gardening; though their gardens ſeem to have produced nothing but a few apples and pot-herbs, with flax, leeks, and onions [19]. ——It is now time to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of agriculture among the Anglo-Saxons in this period.

Among the Engliſh.

The ancient Germans, from whom our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors derived their origin and manners, were not much addicted to agriculture, but depended chiefly on their flocks and herds for their ſubſiſtence [20]. Theſe reſtleſs and haughty warriors eſteemed the cultivation of their lands too ignoble and laborious an employment for themſelves, and therefore committed it

[18] Leges Wallicæ, p. 28—298.
[19] Id. p. 286.
[20] Strabo, l. 7. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

wholly to their women and ſlaves[21]. They were even at pains to contrive laws to prevent their contracting a taſte for agriculture, leſt it ſhould render them leſs fond of arms and warlike expeditions[22]. Thoſe who inhabited the ſea-coaſts, and particularly the Angles, Iutes, Danes, and Saxons, were ſo much addicted to piracy, and depended ſo much on plunder for their ſubſiſtence, that they were more averſe to, and more ignorant of agriculture, than the other Germans. From all theſe circumſtances, we may be very certain, that the Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in this iſland, were much better warriors than huſbandmen, more expert at wielding the ſword than guiding the plough. For ſome time after their arrival, fighting was their only buſineſs; becauſe corn, and all other proviſions, were furniſhed to their hands by the Britons, according to agreement. Even after the commencement of hoſtilities between them and the Britons, they ſubſiſted chiefly by plunder, until they had obtained an eſtabliſhment, by the expulſion or extirpation of the greateſt part of the ancient inhabitants, whoſe lands they divided amongſt themſelves. Having then no enemies to plunder, they found it neceſſary to give ſome attention to the cultivation of their lands, in order to raiſe thoſe proviſions which they could no longer procure by the point of their ſwords.

[21] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15. [22] Id. c. 26.

The

The Saxon princes and great men, who, in the diviſion of the conquered lands, obtained the largeſt ſhares, are ſaid to have ſubdivided their eſtates into two parts, which were called the *inlands* and the *outlands*. The inlands were thoſe which lay moſt contiguous to the manſion-houſe of their owner, which he kept in his own immediate poſſeſſion, and cultivated by his ſlaves, under the direction of a bailiff, for the purpoſe of raiſing proviſions for his family. The outlands were thoſe which lay at a greater diſtance from the manſion-houſe, and were let to the ceorls or farmers of thoſe times, at a certain rent; which was very moderate, and generally paid in kind [23]. The owners of land were not at liberty to exact as high a rent from their ceorls or tenants as they could obtain; but the rates of theſe rents were aſcertained by law, according to the number of hides, or plough-lands, of which a farm conſiſted. The reaſon of this ſeems to have been, that the firſt ceorls or farmers among the Anglo-Saxons were freemen and ſoldiers, and had contributed to the conqueſt of the country by their arms, and were therefore entitled to be treated with indulgence, and protected by law from the oppreſſion of their ſuperiors. By the laws of Ina king of the Weſt-Saxons, who flouriſhed in the end of the ſeventh and beginning of the eighth century, a farm conſiſting of ten hides or plough-lands was to pay the following

[23] Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 12.

rent,

rent, viz. ten caſks of honey,—three hundred loaves of bread,—twelve caſks of ſtrong ale,—thirty caſks of ſmall ale,—two oxen,—ten wethers,—ten geeſe,—twenty hens,—ten cheeſes,—one caſk of butter,—five ſalmon—twenty pounds of forage,—and one hundred eels[24]. There ſeems to be ſome miſtake in the quantity of forage, which is too trifling to be mentioned, and the whole rent is very low, in proportion to the quantity of land; which may be conſidered as an evidence, both of the free and comfortable condition of the ceorls, and of the imperfect ſtate of agriculture among the Saxons. In ſome places theſe rents were paid in wheat, rye, oats, malt, flour, hogs, ſheep, &c. according to the nature of the farm, or the cuſtom of the country[25]. There is, however, ſufficient evidence, that money-rents for lands were not altogether unknown in England in this period[26]. The greateſt part of the crown lands in every county was farmed in this manner, by ceorls, who paid a certain quantity of proviſions of different kinds, for the ſupport of the king's houſehold, according to the nature and extent of the lands which they poſſeſſed[27]. "We have been "informed (ſays the author of the black book "in the exchequer), that in ancient times our "kings received neither gold nor ſilver from "their tenants, but only proviſions for the daily

[24] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 25. [25] Spelman. Gloſſ. voc. Firma.
[26] Hiſtoria Elienſis, l. 1. c. 52. [27] Id. ibid.

"uſe

" uſe of their houſehold; and the officers who " were appointed to manage the king's lands, " knew very well what kinds, and what quan- " tities of proviſions every tenant was obliged to " pay. This cuſtom continued even after the " conqueſt, during the whole reign of William I.; " and I myſelf have converſed with ſeveral old " people who had ſeen the royal tenants paying " their rents in ſeveral kinds of proviſions at the " king's court[28]." In ſome other countries of Europe, in this period, particularly in Italy, the rents of lands conſiſted in a certain proportion (moſt commonly the fourth or fifth part) of the different kinds of grain which theſe lands produced[29]. But in England the rents of land were much lower, on account of the more imperfect ſtate of agriculture. If the lowneſs of the rents of lands in England in this period is a proof of the imperfection of agriculture, the lowneſs of their prices when they were ſold is ſtill a ſtronger evidence of the ſame fact, as well as of the great ſcarcity of money. In the ancient hiſtory of the church of Ely, publiſhed by Dr. Gale, the curious reader will meet with accounts of many purchaſes of lands that were made by Ædelwold, the founder of that church, and by other benefactors, in the reign of Edgar the Peaceable, in the tenth century[30]. By carefully comparing all theſe accounts together, it plainly

[28] Liber niger Scaccarii, l. 1. c. 7.

[29] Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 353.

[30] Hiſt. Britan. xv. a Tho. Gale edit. t. 1. p. 477, &c.

appears that the ordinary price of an acre of the beſt land, in that part of England, in thoſe times, was ſixteen Saxon pennies, or about four ſhillings of our money: a very trifling price indeed, not only in compariſon of the prices of land in our times, but even in compariſon of the prices of other commodities in thoſe very times. For in the ſame hiſtory of the church of Ely, we are told, that biſhop Æthelwold, and abbot Brithnoth, in paying for an eſtate which they had purchaſed for that church, gave twenty ſheep for twenty Saxon ſhillings, and one palfrey for ten of theſe ſhillings, of the price; from whence it follows, that four ſheep were then of the ſame value with one acre of the beſt land, and one horſe of the ſame value with three acres[31]. This is ſo exceedingly different from the preſent ſtate of things, that it would appear quite incredible, if it was not ſupported by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence. The frequent and deplorable famines which afflicted England, from time to time, in the courſe of this period, and carried off great multitudes of its inhabitants, afford a further and more melancholy proof of the wretched ſtate of cultivation[32]. In particular, there was ſo great a ſcarcity of grain A. D. 1043, that a quarter of wheat ſold for ſixty Saxon pennies, which contained as much ſilver as fifteen of our ſhillings, and were equal in value to ſeven or

[31] Hiſt. Britan. xv. a Tho. Gale edit. t. 1. p. 471.
[32] Chron. Saxon. p. 65. 123. 134. 157, &c.

eight

eight pounds of our money [33]: a moſt extravagant price, which muſt have involved not only the poor, but even thoſe in the middle ranks of life, in the moſt extreme diſtreſs. In one word, we have ſufficient evidence, that England, which in the Roman times was one of the great granaries of Europe, and afforded prodigious quantities of corn for exportation, was ſo ill cultivated by the Anglo-Saxons, that in the moſt favourable ſeaſons it yielded only a ſcanty proviſion for its own inhabitants, and in unfavourable ſeaſons was a ſcene of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs and ſcarcity.

Practices of the Anglo-Saxon huſbandmen.

When this was the ſtate of agriculture, it will not be proper to ſpend much time in delineating the practices of the Anglo-Saxon huſbandmen. They ploughed, ſowed, and harrowed their fields; but as all theſe operations were performed by wretched ſlaves, who had little or no intereſt in their ſucceſs, we may be certain that they were executed in a very ſlovenly and ſuperficial manner: their ploughs were very ſlight, and (like thoſe of the people of Shetland at preſent) had but one ſtilt or handle [34]. Though water-mills for grinding corn were well known to the Wiſigoths in Spain, and the Longobards in Italy, as appears from the ancient laws of theſe nations, the Anglo-Saxons ſeem to have been unacquainted with them during ſome part of this

[33] Chron. Saxon. p. 157.
[34] Bedæ Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuthen. p. 256.

period;

period; and had no better way of converting their corn into meal, than by grinding it in hand-mills that were turned by women. By the laws of Ethelbert king of Kent, a particular mulct was impoſed upon any man who debauched the king's grinding maid [35]. Ina king of Weſſex made ſeveral laws for the incloſing of arable lands, and regulating the proportion of grounds to be left in tillage at the departure of a tenant [36]. The lands belonging to the monaſteries were by much the beſt cultivated; becauſe the ſecular canons who poſſeſſed them ſpent ſome part of their time in cultivating their own lands. Venerable Bede, in his life of Eaſterwin abbot of Weremouth, tells us, "That this abbot, being "a ſtrong man, and of a humble diſpoſition, "uſed to aſſiſt his monks in their rural labours, "ſometimes guiding the plough by its ſtilt or "handle, ſometimes winnowing corn, and ſome-"times forging inſtruments of huſbandry with a "hammer upon an anvil [37]." For in thoſe times the huſbandmen were under a neceſſity of making many implements of huſbandry with their own hands.

Art of gardening.

When the arts and practices of the huſbandman were ſo imperfect, it cannot be ſuppoſed that thoſe of the gardener had made greater progreſs. There is, however, ſufficient evidence, that gardens were cultivated, and fruit-trees

35 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 3. 36 Id. p. 25.
37 Bedæ Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 296.

planted

planted and ingrafted, in this period, particularly by the monks. Brithnod, the firſt abbot of Ely, is celebrated for his ſkill in gardening, and for the excellent gardens and orchards which he made near that monaſtery. "He performed "another great and uſeful work, which I think "it is proper to relate to his praiſe. Being ſkil-"ful in the arts of planting and gardening, and "conſidering that the place would be more plea-"ſant and beautiful if it was ſurrounded with "plantations, he laid out very extenſive gardens "and orchards, which he filled with a great "variety of herbs, ſhrubs, and fruit-trees. In a "few years, the trees which he planted and ingraft-"ed, appeared at a diſtance like a wood, loaded "with the moſt excellent fruits in great abundance, "and added much to the commodiouſneſs and "beauty of the place [38]."

Architecture.

The uſeful and neceſſary art of architecture ſuffered no leſs than that of agriculture, by the departure of the Romans. That ingenious and active people, with the aſſiſtance of their Britiſh ſubjects, who were inſtructed by them, had adorned their dominions in this iſland with a prodigious number of elegant and magnificent ſtructures, both for public and private uſe[39]. Some of theſe ſtructures were built with ſo much ſolidity, that they would have reſiſted all the attacks of time, and remained to this very day, if they

[38] Hiſt. Elienſ. apud Gale, l. 2. c. 2.
[39] See vol. 2. p. 218, &c.

had

had not been wilfully deſtroyed [40]. This was done by the Anglo-Saxons in the courſe of their long wars againſt the unhappy Britons: for it ſeems to have been a maxim with theſe ferocious conquerors, to deſtroy all the towns and caſtles which they took from their enemies, inſtead of preſerving them for their own uſe.

Among the Anglo-Saxons.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that a people who wantonly demoliſhed ſo many beautiful and uſeful ſtructures, had any taſte for the arts by which they had been erected. The truth is, that the Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in this iſland, were almoſt totally ignorant of theſe arts, and, like all the other nations of Germany, had been accuſtomed to live in wretched hovels, built of wood or earth, and covered with ſtraw or the branches of trees: nor did they much improve in the knowledge of architecture for two hundred years after their arrival [41]. During that period, maſonry was quite unknown and unpractiſed in this iſland; and the walls even of cathedral churches were built of wood. "There was a "time (ſays venerable Bede) when there was not "a ſtone church in all the land; but the cuſtom "was to build them all of wood.—Finan, the "ſecond biſhop of Lindisfarne, or Holy-iſland, "built a church in that iſland A. D. 652, for a "cathedral, which yet was not of ſtone, but of

40 The famous edifice, called *Arthur's Oven*, on the banks of the Carron in Scotland, which was almoſt quite entire when it was taken down A.D. 1742, is a ſufficient proof of this.

41 Cluver. Antiq. German. p. 86, &c.

"wood,

" wood, and covered with reeds; and ſo it con-
" tinued, till Eadbert, the ſucceſſor of St. Cuth-
" bert, and ſeventh biſhop of Lindisfarne, took
" away the reeds, and covered it all over, both
" roof and walls, with ſheets of lead [42]." The firſt cathedral of York was built of the ſame materials; and a church of ſtone was eſteemed a kind of prodigy in thoſe times that merited a place in hiſtory. " Paulinus, the firſt biſhop of
" York, built a church of ſtone in the city of
" Lincoln, whoſe walls (ſays Bede) are ſtill
" ſtanding, though the roof is fallen down; and
" ſome healing miracles are wrought in it every
" year, for the benefit of thoſe who have the
" faith to ſeek them [43]."

In Scotland.

There does not ſeem to have been ſo much as one church of ſtone, nor any artiſts who could build one, in all Scotland, at the beginning of the eighth century. For Naitan king of the Picts, in his famous letter to Ceolfred abbot of Weremouth, A. D. 710, earneſtly intreats him to ſend him ſome maſons to build a church of ſtone in his kingdom, in imitation of the Romans; which he promiſes to dedicate to the honour of the apoſtle Peter, to whom the abbey of Weremouth was dedicated: and we are told by Bede, who was then living in that abbey, that the reverend abbot Ceolfred granted this pious requeſt, and ſent maſons according to his deſire [44].

[42] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 4. l. 3. c. 25. [43] Id. l. 2. c. 16.
[44] Id. l. 5. c. 21.

Maſonry reſtored in England.

Maſonry was reſtored, and ſome other arts connected with it introduced into England, towards the end of the ſeventh century, by two clergymen, who were great travellers, and had often viſited Rome, where they had acquired ſome taſte for theſe arts. Theſe were, the famous Wilfrid biſhop of York, and afterwards of Hexham, and Benedict Biſcop, founder of the abbey of Weremouth. Wilfrid, who was one of the moſt ingenious, active, and magnificent prelates of the ſeventh century, was a great builder, and erected ſeveral ſtructures at York, Rippon, and Hexham, which were the admiration of the age in which he flouriſhed [45]. The cathedral of Hexham, which was one of theſe ſtructures, is thus deſcribed by his biographer: "Having obtained a piece of ground "at Hexham from queen Etheldreda, he there "founded a moſt magnificent church, which he "dedicated to the bleſſed apoſtle St. Andrew. "As the plan of this ſacred ſtructure ſeems to "have been inſpired by the ſpirit of God, it "would require a genius much ſuperior to mine "to deſcribe it properly. How large and ſtrong "were the ſubterraneous buildings, conſtructed "of the fineſt poliſhed ſtones! How magnifi-"cent the ſuperſtructure, with its lofty roof, "ſupported by many pillars, its long and high "walls, its ſublime towers, and winding ſtairs! "In one word, there is no church on this ſide

45 Eddii Vita Wilfridi, c. 16, 17. 22.

"of

" of the Alps ſo great and beautiful[46]." This admired edifice, of which ſome veſtiges are ſtill remaining, was built by maſons, and other artificers, brought from Rome, by the munificence of its generous founder[47]. Benedict Biſcop was the cotemporary and companion of Wilfrid in ſome of his journies, and had the ſame taſte for the arts[48]. He made no fewer than ſix journies to Rome, chiefly with a view of collecting books, pictures, ſtatues, and other curioſities, and of perſuading artificers of various kinds to come from Italy and France, and ſettle in England. Having obtained a grant of a conſiderable eſtate from Ecgfrid king of Northumberland, near the mouth of the river Were, he there founded a monaſtery A. D. 674. " About a year after the " foundations of this monaſtery were laid, Be- " nedict croſſed the ſea into France, where he " collected a number of maſons, and brought " them over with him, in order to build the " church of his monaſtery of ſtone, after the " Roman manner; of which he was a great ad- " mirer. His love to the apoſtle Peter, to " whom he deſigned to dedicate his church, " made him urge theſe workmen to labour ſo " hard, that maſs was celebrated in it about a " year after it was founded. When the work " was far advanced, he ſent agents into France, " to procure, if poſſible, ſome glaſs-makers, a

46 Eddii Vita Wilfridi, c. 22.
47 W. Malmſ. de Geſtis Pontific. l. 3. 48 Id. ibid.

" kind of artificers quite unknown in England, " and to bring them over to glaze the windows " of his church and monaſtery. Theſe agents " were ſucceſsful, and brought ſeveral glaſs- " makers with them; who not only performed " the work required by Benedict, but inſtructed " the Engliſh in the art of making glaſs for " windows, lamps, drinking-veſſels, and other " uſes[49]."

Art of making glaſs.

From this authentic account, it appears, that it is now about eleven hundred years ſince this very elegant and uſeful art of making glaſs was brought into England. Before that period, the windows of houſes and churches were filled either with linen cloth, or with lattices of wood. This we learn from the following account given by William of Malmſbury, of the great reparations that were made on the cathedral of York by biſhop Wilfrid, about the ſame time, and with the aſſiſtance of the ſame artificers. " The " holy biſhop was much grieved to ſee the de- " caying and almoſt ruinous ſtate of the cathe- " dral church of York, which had been built " by king Edwin at the deſire of Paulinus; and " immediately ſet about the reparation of it. " He reſtored the roof, and covered it with " ſheets of lead; white waſhed the walls with " lime, and put glaſs into the windows; ſome of " which had before admitted the light through

[49] Bedæ Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuth.

" fine

" fine linen cloths, and others through lat-
" tices[50]."

But though theſe arts of building edifices of ſtone, with windows of glaſs, and other ornaments, were thus introduced by theſe two prelates in the latter part of the ſeventh century, they do not ſeem to have flouriſhed much for ſeveral centuries. It appears from many incidental hints in our ancient hiſtorians, that ſtone buildings were ſtill very rare in the eighth and ninth ages, and that when any ſuch buildings were erected, they were the objects of much admiration. When Alfred the Great, towards the end of the ninth century, formed the deſign of rebuilding his ruined cities, churches, and monaſteries, and of adorning his dominions with more magnificent ſtructures, he was obliged to bring many of his artificers from foreign countries. " Of theſe (as we are told by his friend
" and companion Aſſerius) he had an almoſt
" innumerable multitude, collected from dif-
" ferent nations; many of them the moſt ex-
" cellent in their ſeveral arts[51]." Nor is it the leaſt praiſe of this illuſtrious prince, that he was the greateſt builder and the beſt architect of the age in which he flouriſhed. His hiſtorian, who was an eye-witneſs of his works, ſpeaks in the following ſtrain of admiration of the number of his buildings: " What ſhall I ſay of the towns

Stone buildings rare in England in the eighth and ninth centuries.

[50] W. Malmſ. de Geſtis Pontific. p. 149.
[51] Aſſer. de Ælfredi Rebus geſtis, p. 20.

" and cities which he repaired, and of others " which he built from the foundation, where " there had been none before[52]?" Some of his buildings were alſo magnificent for that age, and of a new and ſingular conſtruction; particularly the church of his new monaſtery of Æthelingey; of which the reader may ſee a plan in the work quoted below[53]. This church, however, was built only of wood; and it ſeems probable that Alfred's buildings were in general more remarkable for their number and utility, than for their grandeur: for there is ſufficient evidence, that long after his time, almoſt all the houſes in England, and the far greateſt part of the monaſteries and churches, were very mean buildings, conſtructed of wood, and covered with thatch. Edgar the Peaceable, who flouriſhed after the middle of the tenth century, obſerved, that at his acceſſion to the throne, all the monaſteries in England were in a ruinous condition, and conſiſted only of rotten boards[54]. Though the art of making glaſs was introduced in the ſeventh century, yet it was afterwards ſo much neglected, that no private houſes had glaſs windows till after the concluſion of this period[55]. In a word, ſeveral of our ancient hiſtorians agree, that the Anglo-Saxon nobility had no taſte for magnificent buildings, but ſpent their

52 Aſſer. de Ælfredi Rebus geſtis, p. 20.
53 Vita Ælfredi Latine reddita, p. 131.
54 W. Malmſ. l. 2. p. 32.
55 Anderſon's Hiſt. Commerce, v. 1. p. 90.

great

great revenues in mean, low, and inconvenient houſes [56]. This ſeems to have been owing in a great meaſure to the unſettled ſtate of their country, and the frequent deſtructive depredations of the Danes, who made it a conſtant rule to burn all the houſes, monaſteries, and churches, whereever they came. From the few remains of Anglo-Saxon architecture which may ſtill be ſeen in England, as well as from the direct teſtimony of venerable Bede, it plainly appears to have been a rude imitation of the ancient Roman manner, and very different from that which is commonly, though very improperly, called Gothic; of which ſo many noble ſpecimens adorn our country [57]. The moſt admired of the Saxon churches ſeem to have been low and gloomy; their pillars plain and clumſy, their walls immoderately thick, their windows few and ſmall, with ſemicircular arches at the top [58].

State of architecture in Wales.

If architecture was ſo imperfect in England in this period, we may conclude that it was not in a very flouriſhing ſtate in the other parts of this iſland. This art appears to have been almoſt quite loſt among the poſterity of the ancient Britons, after they retired to the mountains of Wales. The chief palace of the kings of Wales, where the nobility and wiſe men aſſembled for making laws, was called the *white palace*, be-

56 W. Malmſ. l. 3. J. Roſſii, p. 106.

57 Bædæ Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 295.

58 Archæologia by the Society of Antiquaries, London, p. 39. 140. 151.

cauſe the walls of it were woven with white wands, which had the bark peeled off [59]. By the laws of Wales, whoever burnt or deſtroyed the king's hall or palace, was obliged to pay one pound and eighty pence, beſides one hundred and twenty pence for each of the adjacent buildings, which were eight in number, viz. the dormitory, the kitchen, the chapel, the granary, the bake-houſe, the ſtore-houſe, the ſtable, and the dog-houſe [60]. From hence it appears, that a royal reſidence in Wales, with all its offices, when theſe laws were made, was valued at five pounds and eighty pence of the money of that age, equal in quantity of ſilver to ſixteen pounds of our money, and in efficacy to one hundred and ſixty. This is certainly a ſufficient proof of the meanneſs of theſe buildings, which were only of wood. Even the caſtles in Wales, in this period, that were built for the ſecurity of the country, appear to have been conſtructed of the ſame materials; for the laws required the king's vaſſals to come to the building of theſe caſtles with no other tools but an axe [61]. Theſe obſervations, and many others of the ſame kind that might be made from the ancient laws of Wales, ſerve to confirm the opinion of a very ingenious modern writer,—that there were few or no ſtone buildings in Wales before the reign of Edward I. of England [62].

59 Leges Wallicæ, p. 6. 60 Id. p. 163. 167. 61 Id. p. 167.
62 Obſervations on the Welſh Caſtles, by the Honourable Daines Barrington, in Archæologia, p. 278.

The

State of masonry in Scotland.

The arts of building do not seem to have been much better understood by the Scots and Picts than by the ancient Britons, in the former part of this period. When Finan, the second bishop of Lindisfarne, built a church of wood in that island A. D. 652, he is said to have done it *more Scotorum*, after the manner of his countrymen the Scots; and it hath been already observed, that Naitan king of the Picts was obliged to bring masons from Northumberland, when he resolved to build a church of stone in his dominions A. D. 710[63]. After this last period, it is probable that the Picts, and perhaps the Scots, began to learn and practise the art of masonry; because there are still some stone buildings of a very singular construction, and great antiquity, to be seen in Scotland. These buildings are all circular, though of two kinds, so different from each other, that they seem to be the works of different ages and of different nations. The largest of these structures are in a very extraordinary taste of architecture: of which I have heard of no examples in any other part of the world. They are thus described by a modern antiquary, who viewed them with no little attention: "Having "arrived at the barrack of Glenelg, I was con- "ducted to the remains of those stupendous "fabrics, seated about two miles from thence, "in a valley called *Glenbeg*, in which four of "them anciently stood. Two of these are now

[63] Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. l. 5. c. 21.

"almost

" almoſt quite demoliſhed; the third is half " fallen down; the fourth is almoſt entire. " The firſt I met with lies towards the north ſide " of the valley, and is called *Caſtle Chalomine*, or " *Malcom's caſtle.* It ſtands upon a conſiderable " eminence, and affords us a fine proſpect of " the iſland of Sky, and a good part of the ſea-" coaſt. The foundation of this only appears; " as alſo of that other, on the eaſt end of the " valley, called *Caſtle Choncl.* About a quarter " of a mile further, upon the bank of a rivulet, " which paſſes through the middle of the glen, " ſtands the third fabric, called *Caſtle Tellve.* " I found it compoſed of ſtones, without cement; " not laid in regular courſes, after the manner " of elegant buildings, but rudely and without " order: thoſe toward the baſe were pretty " large, but aſcending higher they were thin " and flat, ſome of them ſcarce exceeding the " thickneſs of an ordinary brick. I was ſur-" priſed to find no windows on the outſide, nor " any manner of entrance into the fabric, except " a hole towards the weſt, at the baſe, ſo very " low and narrow, that I was forced to creep in " upon hands and knees, and found that it " carried me down four or five ſteps below the " ſurface of the ground. When I was got within, " I was environed betwixt two walls, having a " cavity or void ſpace, which let me round the " whole building. Oppoſite to the little entry, " on the outſide, was a pretty large door, in the " ſecond or inner wall, which led me into the

" area

" area or inner court. When I was there, I per-
" ceived that one half of the building was fallen
" down, and thereby had the opportunity of
" ſeeing a complete ſection thereof. The two
" walls join together at the top, round about,
" and have formed a large void ſpace or area in
" the middle. But to give a more complete
" idea of theſe buildings, I ſhall deſcribe the
" fourth, called *Caſtle Troddan*, which is by far
" the moſt entire of any in that country; and
" from whence I had a very clear notion how
" theſe fabrics were originally contrived. On
" the outſide were no windows, nor were the
" materials of this caſtle any wiſe different from
" thoſe of the other already deſcribed, only the
" entry on the outſide was ſomewhat larger:
" but this might be occaſioned by the falling of
" the ſtones from above. The area of this makes
" a complete circle; and there are four doors in
" the inner wall, which face the four cardinal
" points of the compaſs. Theſe doors are each
" eight feet and a half high, and five feet wide,
" and lead from the area into the cavity between
" the two walls, which runs round the whole
" building. The perpendicular height of this
" fabric is exactly thirty-three feet; the thick-
" neſs of both walls, including the cavity be-
" tween, no more than twelve feet; and the
" cavity itſelf is hardly wide enough for two men
" to walk abreaſt; the external circumference is
" 178 feet. The whole height of the fabric is
" divided into four parts or ſtories, ſeparated

" from

" from each other by thin floorings of flat ſtones, " which knit the two walls together, and run " quite round the building; and there have " been winding ſtairs of the ſame flat ſtones " aſcending betwixt wall and wall, up to the " top. The undermoſt partition is ſomewhat " below the ſurface of the ground, and is the " wideſt; the others grow narrower by degrees, " till the walls cloſe at the top. Over each door " are nine ſquare windows, in a direct line above " each other, for the admiſſion of light; and " between every row of windows are three others " in the uppermoſt ſtory, riſing above a cornice, " which projects out from the inner wall, and " runs round the fabric[64]." From this deſcription of theſe ſingular edifices, it plainly appears, that they were deſigned both for lodging and defence; and conſidering the ſtate of the times in which they were built, they were certainly very well contrived for anſwering both theſe purpoſes.

Circular towers.

The ſtone edifices of the other kind, which were probably erected in this period, and of which ſome few are ſtill to be ſeen in Scotland, are not ſo large as the former, but more artificial. They are ſlender, lofty, circular towers, of cut ſtone laid in regular rows, between forty and fifty feet in external circumference, and from ſeventy to a hundred feet high, with one door ſome feet from the ground[65]. They are exactly

[64] Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale, p. 166.
[65] Id. p. 165.

ſimilar

ſimilar to the round tower of Ardmore, and ſeveral others, in Ireland; and therefore were probably built about the ſame time, which was in the tenth century; and for the ſame purpoſes; which are believed by ſome to have been for the confinement of penitents while they were performing penance. On this account theſe towers are always found in the neighbourhood of churches both in Scotland and Ireland; and are ſaid to have been uſed in this manner: "The "penitents were placed in the uppermoſt ſtory "of the tower (which commonly conſiſted of "five or ſix ſtories); where having made pro- "bation or done penance, ſuch a limited time, "according to the heinouſneſs of their crimes, "they then were permitted to deſcend to the "next floor; and ſo on by degrees, until they "came to the door, which always faced the "entrance of the church, where they ſtood to "receive abſolution from the clergy, and the "bleſſings of the people[66]." A tedious proceſs, to which few penitents in the preſent age would willingly ſubmit. Other writers are of opinion, that the deſign of theſe circular towers (of which one is ſtill remaining at Abernethy and another at Brechin) was to be places from whence the people were called to public worſhip by the ſound of a horn or trumpet, before the introduction of bells[67].

[66] Archæologia, vol. 1. p. 307. [67] Id. vol. 2. p. 80—85.

It

It is quite improper to ſpend much time in inveſtigating the ſtate of the carpenters and cabinet-makers arts, and of other artificers who wrought in wood in this period; as few or no ſpecimens of their workmanſhip are now remaining. In general, we may be certain, that theſe artificers were very numerous, as almoſt all edifices, both public and private, as well as various kinds of furniture, arms, tools, &c. were made of wood; and amongſt theſe there were, no doubt, ſome in each branch who excelled in their reſpective arts. The cleareſt poſitive evidence of this is ſtill remaining; of which it will be ſufficient to give one example: "With this wood the nave of the church of "Croiland was built, and the tower conſtructed "of ſtrong and lofty beams, moſt exactly "joined together before the death of abbot "Turkitull. After the death of that abbot, his "ſucceſſor, Egelric, built many beautiful edi-"fices of the ſame materials. In particular, he "erected an infirmary for the monks, of a proper "length and breadth, with a chapel;—a bath, "with other neceſſary houſes;—a hall, and two "large chambers, for the accommodation of "ſtrangers;—a new brew-houſe, and a new "bake-houſe;—very large granaries, and ſtables. "All theſe edifices were conſtructed of beams of "wood and boards, moſt exactly joined, and "moſt beautifully poliſhed, by the admirable

"art

"art of the carpenter, and covered with "lead[68]."

Metallic arts.

As metals are more durable than wood, the ſtate of the metallic arts is a little better known. The plumbers art muſt have been well underſtood in this period, as all the churches, and other edifices that were built of ſtone, were covered with lead; and even many of thoſe that were conſtructed of wood. Artificers who wrought in iron were highly regarded in thoſe warlike times; becauſe they fabricated ſwords, and other offenſive arms, as well as defenſive armour. Every military officer had his ſmith, who conſtantly attended his perſon, to keep his arms and armour in order[69]. The chief ſmith was an officer of conſiderable dignity in the courts of the Anglo-Saxon and Welſh kings; where he enjoyed many privileges, and his weregeld was much higher than that of any other artificer[70]. In the Welſh court, the king's ſmith ſat next the domeſtic chaplain, and was entitled to a draught of every kind of liquor that was brought into the hall[71].

Arts of working in ſilver, gold, and jewels.

As all the clergy were taught ſome mechanic art, and were obliged by the canons to exerciſe it at their leiſure hours, many of them wrought in metals of different kinds, in which they became the moſt expert and curious artiſts[72]. The famous St. Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury,

[68] Ingulf. Hiſt. Croiland. [69] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 25.
[70] Leges Wallicæ, p. 66. [71] Id. ibid.
[72] Johnſon's Canons, vol. 1. A. D. 960. c. 51. A. D. 994. c. 3.

who governed both church and ſtate with the moſt abſolute ſway, was the beſt blackſmith, brazier, goldſmith, and engraver of his time. "He had an admirable genius (ſays his hiſtorian) "for various arts, and particularly excelled in "writing and engraving letters, and in making "any thing he pleaſed, in gold, ſilver, braſs, "and iron[73]." Many trinkets made by this illuſtrious mechanic were long preſerved in the church as the moſt precious relics, and objects of the higheſt veneration. "O miſerable man "that I am! (cries Oſbern,) I confeſs that I "have ſeen ſome of thoſe works which he had "made, that I have touched them with my ſin-"ful hands, have ſet them before my eyes, be-"ſprinkled them with my tears, and adored "them on my bended knees[74]." Among the various artiſts collected by Alfred the Great, there were not a few who wrought in gold and ſilver, who, with the inſtructions of their royal maſter, performed ſeveral works in theſe precious metals of incomparable beauty[75]. The truth of this aſſertion of the hiſtorian is abundantly confirmed by that moſt beautiful jewel, of exquiſite workmanſhip, that was found at Ethelingey in Somerſetſhire; where this great prince concealed himſelf in his diſtreſs, and where he ſometimes reſided in his proſperity. This jewel was made by the command and direction of

73 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 94. 74 Id. p. 96.
75 Aſſer. Vita Alfred. p. 17.

Alfred,

Alfred (as appears from the inſcription upon it in the Saxon language and letters, to this purpoſe: —"Alfred commanded me to be made),"—and was certainly worn by that prince. It is a thin plate of gold enamelled, and moſt exquiſitely engraved with various figures, of an oblong form, a little more than two inches long, and a little more than one inch broad; of which the reader may find long and minute deſcriptions in the works quoted below [76]. There is the cleareſt and moſt authentic evidence, that gold and ſilver were wrought into plate, coronets, bracelets, and various other ornaments and utenſils, both before and after the age of Alfred the Great. The famous biſhop Wilfrid, who flouriſhed about two centuries before Alfred, is ſaid to have incurred much envy by his magnificence, and particularly by his great quantities of ſilver plate [77]. Queen Elgiva, the wife of king Ethelred, preſented a chalice and patten of fine gold, weighing thirteen marks, about two pounds and a half, to the church of Canterbury; and his ſecond wife, queen Emma, gave many ornaments of gold and ſilver to the church of Wincheſter [78]. But beſides the gold and ſilver plate in the poſſeſſion of the church, of which every convent and cathedral had a conſiderable quantity, many private perſons had various ornaments and trink-

[76] Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 247. Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 12. Wotten's Conſpectus, p. 18.

[77] Eddii Vita Wilfridi, c. 24.

[78] Monaſticon, vol. 1. p. 2. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 290.

kets of theſe precious metals, ſuch as coronets, chains, bracelets, half-circles for dreſſing their hair upon, collars, cups, &c.; as appears from their teſtaments, which are ſtill preſerved [79]. Even the arts of poliſhing and ſetting precious ſtones were not quite unknown in England in this period: for Alfred the Great, having received a quantity of theſe from India (in the manner that ſhall be related in the next chapter), had them poliſhed, and formed into jewels; ſome of which were remaining in the cathedral of Shereburn when William of Malmſbury wrote his hiſtory of the biſhops of that ſee [80]. The arts of gilding wood and metals with gold and ſilver were alſo known and practiſed. Stigand biſhop of Wincheſter is ſaid to have made a very large crucifix, and two images, the one of the virgin Mary, and the other of the apoſtle John, and to have gilded them all, together with the beam on which they ſtood, with gold and ſilver, and ſet them up in the cathedral of Wincheſter [81]. The Engliſh goldſmiths in this period were ſo famous for their excellence in their art, that the curious caſkets, adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, in which the relics of the ſaints were kept, were made in England, and known by the name of *Opera Anglica* (Engliſh works) [82]. The art of making gold and ſilver thread for

79 Hickeſii Diſſertatio Epiſtolaris, p. 51.
80 W. Malmſ. de Geſtis Pontificum Angl. l. 2.
81 Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 293. 82 Murator. Antiq. t. 5. p. 12.

weaving

weaving and embroidering was not unknown in this period, as will by and by appear. In one word, ſome pieces of workmanſhip were executed in gold and ſilver, in thoſe rude times, that would be admired in the preſent age; of which it will be ſufficient to give one example: among the furniture of Charlemagne, there were four tables, three of ſilver, and one of gold, all of extraordinary magnitude and weight. One of the ſilver tables was ſquare, and beautifully enchaſed with a plan of the city of Conſtantinople; another of them was round, and on it the city of Rome was repreſented in the ſame manner; the third, which was much larger and heavier, and of more admirable workmanſhip than the other two, contained, within three circles, a repreſentation of the whole world, in figures moſt exquiquiſitely minute and fine [83]. How ineſtimable would the value of theſe tables be, if they were ſtill remaining! Such of our readers as are deſirous of knowing in what manner the artificers of thoſe ancient times performed many of their moſt curious operations, in gilding and ſtaining metals, ivory, wood, parchment, &c. they may find a very ample collection of their receipts in the work quoted below [84].

If we may depend upon the authority of their laws, even the people of Wales, notwithſtanding their poverty, and the low ſtate of the arts In Wales.

[83] Egenhard. Vita Caroli Magni, ſub fin.

[84] Muratori Antiquitates Medii Ævi, t. 2. p. 366—387.

among them, were not unacquainted with gold and ſilver plate in this period. By one of theſe laws, an inſult or injury offered to the king of Aberfraw was to be compenſated in this manner: The guilty perſon, beſides a certain number of cows, according to the extent of his eſtate, was to give to the king, whom he had affronted, a ſilver rod, as thick as his little finger, that would reach from the ground to his mouth when he ſat in his chair; together with a gold cup, that would contain as much liquor as he could drink at once, with a cover as broad as his majeſty's face; and both the cup and cover were to be of the thickneſs of a ploughman's thumb-nail, or the ſhell of a gooſe's egg[85]. This law certainly made it very imprudent to affront his majeſty of Aberfraw, eſpecially if he happened to have a long breath and a broad face. But if the people of Wales had really ſuch pieces of plate amongſt them in thoſe times, they were probably imported, and not manufactured by themſelves.

Arts of clothing.

Though ſome of the arts employed about clothing are frequently carried much further than neceſſity requires, and were ſo in this period; yet it ſeems to be moſt proper, for preventing confuſion, to conſider them all in this place under the diviſion of the neceſſary arts.

Not neceſſary to trace theſe

None of the nations who inhabited this iſland at the arrival of the Saxons, were ignorant of

[85] Leges Wallicæ, p. 10.

the

the moſt eſſential branches of the clothing-arts. It has been made appear already, that the Britons, Scots, and Picts, underſtood the arts of dreſſing both wool and flax, ſpinning them into yarn, and weaving them into cloth of various kinds and colours[86]. Nor have we the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Saxons were unacquainted with any of theſe eſſential operations at their arrival in Britain, as there is not the leaſt ſurmiſe in hiſtory, that they were more imperfectly clothed than other nations. It will not therefore be neceſſary to trace any of theſe arts again to their origin, but only to take notice of ſuch improvements as were made in them in the courſe of this period, and of ſuch new inventions as were introduced.

arts to their origin.

We have no evidence that any of the Britiſh nations, at the beginning of this period, underſtood the arts of weaving various figures of men, or other animals, or flowers, foliages, &c. into cloth, or of embroidering them upon it after it was woven; but there is the cleareſt proof, that theſe very elegant and ingenious arts were practiſed in England before the end of the ſeventh century. In a book written by Aldhelm biſhop of Shereburn, about A. D. 680, in praiſe of virginity, he obſerves, that chaſtity alone did not form an amiable and perfect character, but required to be accompanied and adorned by many other virtues; and this obſervation he il-

Art of embroidery.

[86] See vol. 2. p. 126—133.

luſtrates by the following ſimile, taken from the art of weaving;—"As it is not a web of one "uniform colour and texture, without any va- "riety of figures, that pleaſeth the eye, and "appears beautiful; but one that is woven by "ſhuttles, filled with threads of purple, and "many other colours, flying from ſide to ſide, "and forming a variety of figures and images, "in different compartments, with admirable "art[87]." Theſe figures were ſometimes embroidered upon the cloth, with threads of gold, ſilver, and ſilk, of purple and other colours, as the nature of the figures to be formed required; and to render them the more exact, they were firſt drawn, with colouring matter, by ſome ſkilful artiſt. In the life of St. Dunſtan, we are told, that a certain religious lady, deſigning to embroider a ſacerdotal veſtment, earneſtly intreated Dunſtan (who was then a young man, and had an excellent taſte for works of that kind) to draw the figures, which ſhe afterwards formed with threads of gold[88]. The truth is, that thoſe fine flowered and embroidered works, ſo much ſuperior in art and beauty to what could have been expected in thoſe rude ages, were commonly executed by ladies of the higheſt rank and greateſt piety, and were deſigned for ornaments to the churches, and veſtments for the clergy, when they performed the offices of re-

[87] Aldhelm de Virginitate, in Bibliotheca Patrum, t. 13.
[88] Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 94.

ligion.

ligion. We often read in the monkiſh hiſtorians of thoſe times, of queens and princeſſes making preſents of ſuch precious and painted veſtments (as they called them) to the church [89]. The four princeſſes, daughters of king Edward the Elder, and ſiſters of king Athelſtan, are highly celebrated by hiſtorians for their aſſiduity and ſkill in ſpinning, weaving, and needlework; which was ſo far from ſpoiling the fortunes of thoſe royal ſpinſters, that it procured them the addreſſes of the greateſt princes then in Europe [90]. A work of this kind, ſuppoſed to have been executed about the end of this period, by Matilda, wife of William duke of Normandy, afterwards king of England, and the ladies of her court, is ſtill preſerved in the cathedral of Bayeux, and is an illuſtrious proof both of their ſkill and induſtry. This curious monument of antiquity is a piece or web of linen, only about nineteen inches in breadth, but no leſs than ſixty-ſeven yards in length; on which is embroidered the hiſtory of the conqueſt of England by William duke of Normandy; beginning with the embaſſy of Harold to the Norman court, A. D. 1065, and ending with his death at the battle of Haſtings, A. D. 1066 [91]. The many important tranſactions of theſe two buſy years are repreſented in the cleareſt and

89 Annales Eccleſ. Winton. in Angl. Sacra, t. 1. p. 290.
90 W. Malmſ. l. 2. p. 26.
91 Memoires de Literature, tom. 9. 12.

moſt regular order in this piece of needle-work; which contains many hundred figures of men, horſes, beaſts, birds, trees, houſes, caſtles, churches, arms, &c. &c. all executed in their due proportions and proper colours, with inſcriptions over them, to throw light upon the hiſtory [92]. Though queen Matilda directed this work, yet the greateſt part of it was probably performed by Engliſh women: for we are told by a contemporary writer, that the Anglo-Saxon ladies were ſo famous for their ſkill in needle-work, and embroidering with gold, that thoſe elegant manufactures were called *Anglicum opus* (Engliſh work) [93].

Art of dyeing ſcarlet.

It hath been already proved, that the people of this iſland were not unacquainted with the arts of dyeing wool, yarn, and cloth, ſeveral different colours, in the former period; yet it ſeems probable, that theſe arts received conſiderable improvements in the period we are now delineating [94]. In particular, the art of dyeing the ſcarlet colour, by the help of a ſmall inſect of the kermes or cochineal kind, appears to have been diſcovered about A. D. 1000 [95].

The furrier's art.

The furrier's art, or the art of dreſſing the ſkins of animals, without taking off the hair or wool, was much improved in this period; be-

92 Memoires de Literature, tom. 9. 12. Montfaucon Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe, t. 1. p. 371, &c.

93 Gul. Pictavenſ. p. 211.

94 See vol. 2. p. 128.

95 Murat. Antiquitat. t. 2. p. 415.

cauſe

cauſe furs of all kinds were much worn, and highly valued for their warmth and beauty[96].

Though ſilk was worn by perſons of high rank and great wealth, and alſo uſed for altar-cloths, &c.; yet as we have no evidence that it was manufactured in England in this period, this is not the proper place to ſpeak of it[97]. Art of making ſilk.

Beſides the fine needle-works and embroideries above deſcribed, which were executed chiefly by the ladies, various kinds of woollen cloths were fabricated by the profeſſed artificers of Britain in this period, for the uſe of all the different ranks in ſociety. We are even told by a writer who flouriſhed in thoſe times, that the Engliſh makers of cloth very much excelled in their ſeveral arts[98]. This ſeems to be confirmed by the price of wool, which was higher than it is at preſent, in proportion to the prices of other commodities. For the fleece, by ſome of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was valued at two-fifths of the price of the whole ſheep[99]. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that it is quite impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, and with the imperfect lights afforded us by our ancient writers, to give a particular account of the texture and properties of all the different kinds of cloth that were fabricated in England in this remote period. Arts of making woollen cloths.

The art of war muſt continue to be ranked among the neceſſary arts, until all nations be- Art of war.

[96] Murat. Antiquitat. t. 2. p. 409. [97] See chap. 7.
[98] Gul. Pictavenſ. p. 211. [99] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 23.

come

come ſo wiſe and equitable as to content themſelves with their own territories and poſſeſſions, without invading thoſe of others. This was very far from being the caſe in Britain in the period we are now conſidering, which was almoſt one continued ſeries of invaſions, wars, and plunderings, from the beginning to the end. In ſuch unhappy circumſtances, the ſtudy and practice of the arts of war became neceſſary to the preſervation of the ſeveral Britiſh nations, and on that account merit a little of our attention.

Among the Britons, Scots, and Picts.

It is ſufficient to refer the reader to what hath been already ſaid concerning the manner of forming and commanding the armies of the ancient Britons, Scots, and Picts; becauſe no changes ſeem to have been made by them in theſe particulars in the preſent period[100]. Their arms and way of fighting were alſo much the ſame, except that war-chariots were wholly laid aſide, and defenſive armour came more into uſe among their princes and great men, in imitation of other nations, and particularly of the Anglo-Saxons. By the laws of Wales, all the fighting men were obliged to take the field, as often as they were called upon by the king, to defend their country when it was invaded; but they were not under any legal obligation to attend their prince in a foreign expedition above once in the year, nor to continue in it above ſix

[100] See vol. 2. p. 142.

weeks.

weeks[101]. They were alſo bound to aſſiſt, as often as they were called upon, in building, repairing, and defending the royal caſtles[102]. But theſe caſtles, as hath been already obſerved, were very ſlight, and conſtructed only of wood.

Among the Anglo-Saxons.

The founders of the ſeveral Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in this iſland were a kind of ſoldiers of fortune, followed by armies of bold intrepid youths, whoſe arms were their only riches, and war their only trade and chief delight. To this martial ſpirit, which they derived from their anceſtors the ancient Germans, they owed all their ſucceſs in Britain; and they procured all their ſettlements by their ſwords, to which they had no other right. The ſame martial ſpirit and military arts were neceſſary to preſerve their acquiſitions, both from the ancient poſſeſſors, and from other adventurers like themſelves, particularly the Danes. Theſe circumſtances made the ſtudy and practice of the arts of war of the greateſt importance to the Anglo-Saxons, and render their military arrangements objects of curioſity to their poſterity.

All the freemen among the Anglo-Saxons were warriors.

All the freemen and proprietors of land among the Anglo-Saxons, except the miniſters of religion, were trained to the uſe of arms, and always ready to take the field. To this they were not only led by their ancient cuſtoms and warlike diſpoſitions, but compelled by the neceſſity of their circumſtances, and the obligation of

[101] Leges Wallicæ, p. 71. 165.

[102] Id. ibid.

their

their laws. For every ſoldier in their victorious armies, when he received his proportion of the conquered country as the reward of his toils and valour, became bound to three things (commonly called the *trinoda neceſſitas*), which were eſteemed indiſpenſably neceſſary to the public ſafety and common good[103]. The firſt and moſt important of theſe three ſervices, to which all proprietors of land, and even all freemen of any conſiderable property, were ſubjected, was called in the Saxon language *furthfare*, or *outgoing*; which ſignified their taking the field with all neceſſary arms, whenever an army was to be formed for the defence of their country. This they were obliged to do under the ſevere penalty of forfeiting their lands, if they had any, and paying a heavy fine if they had no lands[104]. The ſecond of theſe ſervices, which all freemen and proprietors of land were obliged to perform, was alſo of a military nature, and conſiſted in building, repairing, and defending the royal caſtles[105]. To enable them to perform theſe ſervices, all freemen and landholders were obliged to be conſtantly poſſeſſed of ſuch arms as were neceſſary and ſuitable to their rank, which they were neither to ſell, nor lend, nor pledge, nor alienate from their heirs[106]. That they might be expert in the uſe of theſe arms when

[103] Reliquiæ Spelman. p. 19.
[104] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 23. Spelman Concil. Britan. p. 520.
[105] Id. ibid. [106] Leges Edwardi Regis, apud Wilkins, p. 205.

they

they were called out to actual ſervice, the freemen of each tithing, hundred, and county were appointed to meet at certain ſtated times and places for the exerciſe of arms; and there was to be one general review of all the arms and armed men in all the counties of England upon one day in the month of May, that there might be no poſſibility of impoſing upon the public by lending arms to each other[107]. In a word, the freemen among the Anglo-Saxons, like their anceſtors the ancient Germans, came to their hundred and county courts, and other public meetings, in arms; for which reaſon theſe meetings were commonly called *weapon-tacks*, or *the touch of arms;* becauſe every one touched the ſpear of the chief magiſtrate, who was preſent with his ſpear, in token of his ſubmiſſion to his authority, and readineſs to fight under his command[108]. So much were they accuſtomed to the uſe of arms, that a ſpear in his hand was an eſſential part of the dreſs of an Anglo-Saxon thane or gentleman, by which he was diſtinguiſhed, and without which he never ſtirred abroad. This is the reaſon that we meet with ſo many laws to prevent their doing miſchief by wearing their ſpears in a careleſs manner[109].

The miniſters of religion, both among the Pagan and Chriſtian Saxons, were exempted from all military ſervices, and forbidden the uſe

Clergy exempted from the obligation of bearing arms.

[107] Leges Edwardi Regis, apud Wilkins. p. 205.
[108] Id. p. 203. [109] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 42.

of

of arms. The Pagan Northumbrians imagined their high prieſt Coifi was become mad, when they beheld him riding on a horſe, with a ſpear in his hand, like a ſecular thane; "becauſe "they knew that it was not lawful for a prieſt "to bear arms, or ride upon a horſe[110]." The Chriſtian clergy, after the converſion of the Saxons, enjoyed the ſame exemption from military ſervices, and were laid under the ſame prohibition of bearing arms, that they might not be diverted from a conſtant attention to the duties of their ſacred function[111]. But the lands that were granted to the church by kings and others, eſpecially in the former part of this period, were ſubjected to the ſame military ſervices with others, which the clergy performed by their ceorls or free tenants[112].

Slaves not permitted to bear arms.

As the bearing of arms was eſteemed the moſt honourable of all employments by the Anglo-Saxons, and all the other nations of Europe in this period, their numerous ſlaves were excluded from that honour, and from all military ſervices, except in caſes of the greateſt national diſtreſs and danger[113]. But when a ſlave was made free, a ſpear was put into his hand as one mark of his freedom, and he was thenceforward permitted to bear arms, and ſubjected to military ſervices[114].

110 Bedæ Hiſt. l. 2. c. 13.
111 Spelman. Concil. p. 238.
112 Reliquiæ Spelman. p. 19.
113 Murator. Antiq. l. 2. 445.
114 Id. ibid.

From

From the above account of the military forces of the ſeveral Anglo-Saxon ſtates, it plainly appears, that they conſiſted of all the freemen of thoſe ſtates, who were of a proper age for bearing arms, the clergy alone excepted. This is no doubt the reaſon that we hear of ſuch numerous armies raiſed even by the ſmalleſt nations of the heptarchy: for when a war broke out, the whole nation was up in arms, except ſuch as were not capable, or had no right to bear them. After the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh monarchy, theſe martial regulations ſeem to have been relaxed, and the military forces of the nation gradually diminiſhed.

Reaſon of the numerous armies among the Anglo-Saxons.

The civil and military government of the Anglo-Saxons were perfectly ſimilar, and executed by the ſame perſons. The king was commander in chief of the whole army; an office which he commonly executed in perſon, but ſometimes by a ſubſtitute, who was called the *cynings hold*, or *heretoga*, i. e. leader of the army[115]. The alderman, or heretoga of each county, commanded the troops of the county, which formed a complete battalion; and were ſubdivided into trithings, commanded by the trithingmen; and theſe into hundreds, commanded by the hundredaries; and theſe again into tens, commanded by the decennaries, who were commonly called *ſithcundem* or *conductors*, when they acted in their military capacity[116].

Military government.

[115] Spelman Gloſſ. p. 288. [116] Somner. Diction. Saxon. in verb.

Troops and armies of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxon troops were of two kinds, infantry and cavalry. The infantry were compoſed of the ceorls, or loweſt rank of freemen; and the cavalry of the thanes, or freemen of greater property, who could afford to purchaſe and maintain their horſes. The infantry were not all furniſhed with the ſame offenſive weapons, ſome being provided with ſpears, others with axes, others with bows and arrows, and not a few with clubs, beſides ſwords, that were common to them all. Few of the infantry had any other defenſive armour than ſmall round ſhields, with ſharp ſpikes in their centres, which they wore on the left arm, and with which they wounded their enemies, as well as defended themſelves. The cavalry were more uniformly armed, with long ſpears, which they carried in their right hands, and ſwords, which hung by a belt at their left ſides. They were alſo much better provided with defenſive armour; having, beſides their large oval ſhields, which they wore on their left arms, helmets on their heads, and cuiraſſes, or coats of mail, on their bodies. The helmets of the Anglo-Saxons were of a conical ſhape, without vizors, or any other protection to the face, than a piece of iron which reached from the front of the helmet to the point of the noſe. The ſwords, both of the infantry and cavalry, were very long and broad; blunt at the point, and deſigned only for cutting. The ſaddles of their horſes were of a very ſimple conſtruction, all of them without cruppers, and many

many of them without ſtirrups. The above deſcription of the arms of the Engliſh in this remote period of their hiſtory, is chiefly taken from the repreſentation of their army at the battle of Haſtings, in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux [117]. All the different bodies of troops of which an Anglo-Saxon army was compoſed, had ſtandards, very much reſembling thoſe of the cavalry in modern Europe [118]. Some of the moſt ancient of our Anglo-Saxon kings were ſo fond of thoſe military ſtandards, that they had them carried before them when they travelled through their territories, even in times of peace [119].

Anglo-Saxon youth trained to the uſe of arms, &c.

We have good reaſon to believe, that the Anglo-Saxon youth were carefully trained to the dexterous uſe of their arms, and management of their horſes, as well as inſtructed in the way of marching in regular order, and performing the neceſſary evolutions at their weapontacks and military reviews. "All the northern nations "(ſays Olaus Magnus) are exceedingly expert "and dexterous in handling their arms when "they come to an engagement; becauſe their "youth are frequently exerciſed in mock fights, "with ſwords, ſpears, bows, and arrows, and "other arms [120]. When the troops are aſſem-"bled for a military expedition, they are firſt

[117] See Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, t. 12.
[118] Id. ibid. [119] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 16.
[120] Hiſtoria Olai Magni, l. 7. c. 6. p. 224.

" divided into their ſeveral diſtinct bodies, with " their proper ſtandards, under their reſpective " leaders, who explain to them the cauſes of " the war; repreſent, in the ſtrongeſt colours, " the cruelty and injuſtice of their enemies, and " the neceſſity of their fighting boldly for the " honour of their country; and promiſe them " their full ſhare of all the booty that ſhall be " taken; after which they march with great " alacrity and good order[121]." The Anglo-Saxon armies were generally attended in their marches by a great number of carts or waggons loaded with arms and proviſions, and ſometimes with their wives and children; and with theſe waggons they ſurrounded their camps in the night, which ſerved as a fortification[122].

Manner of drawing up their armies and of engaging.

When they came to action, which was generally as ſoon as they could find their enemies, they drew up their troops in various ways, according to the nature of the ground, the poſture of the adverſe army, or the particular views of their commanders; though they commonly formed their ſpearmen into a figure called a *ſow's-head* or *hollow wedge*, preſenting the ſharpeſt point of it to the enemy[123]. This figure, which was much uſed by the Franks, Saxons, and all the other northern nations, is thus deſcribed by an ancient writer: " They form their troops into " the figure of a wedge, or of the Greek letter

[121] Hiſtoria Olai Magni, l. 7. c. 6. p. 224.

[122] Cluver. Antiq. l. 1. c. 50. p. 319.

[123] Agathias, l. 2.

" Δ;

" Δ; the point of which towards the enemy is " very ſharp, and the ſides gradually diverge, " by which it becomes broadeſt at the rear. " The ranks on all the three ſides are very com- " pact; and the men, ſtanding with their faces " outwards, and their backs towards the empty " ſpace in the middle, form a kind of rampart " with their ſhields[124]." When an army was compoſed of ſeveral diſtinct battalions, or the troops of ſeveral different counties, under their reſpective aldermen and inferior officers, they often formed as many of theſe hollow wedges as there were battalions, at proper intervals[125]. This was certainly a very prudent regulation; for each of theſe bodies being compoſed of the inhabitants of the ſame county, fought bravely for the honour of their county, and in defence of their friends and neighbours. The cavalry of each county formed one ſquadron, and were commonly drawn up in the front of the infantry. The waggons of the army, with the arms, proviſions, women, children, ſick, and wounded, were placed in a line in the rear, with proper guards, and made a kind of rampart for its defence. While theſe diſpoſitions were making, there were frequently ſingle combats between the boldeſt champions of each army, or ſkirmiſhes between flying parties; in which feats of the greateſt bravery and dexterity were exhibited. When both armies were ready for action, the

[124] Cluver. Antiq. German. l. 1. c. 50. [125] Id. ibid. p. 372.

commanders in chief, and other officers, made ſhort animating ſpeeches; and the ſignal of battle being given by the ſound of trumpets, horns, &c. the troops on both ſides advanced, with martial ſongs, loud ſhouts, and claſhing of arms, which made a moſt terrible and tremendous noiſe [126]. The firſt ſhock between the cavalry of the two contending armies was ordinarily very furious; after which the archers, and then thoſe armed with ſpears, ſwords, battle-axes, clubs, &c. came to action; the battle raged, and blood ſtreamed from ten thouſand wounds. In this way of fighting, much depended on bodily ſtrength and intrepidity; and when two armies were nearly equal in numbers and valour, battles were very long and very bloody. As the rage of the combatants was much inflamed by the length and violence of the ſtruggle, the victors made a dreadful havock among the fugitives, and ſpared few that they could deſtroy: nor was it uncommon, eſpecially among the Danes, to put their priſoners to death in cold blood, and with the moſt cruel tortures [127]. It would be eaſy to illuſtrate and confirm every particular in the above deſcription, by examples taken from our hiſtory in this period; but this would be as tedious as it is unneceſſary.

Great number of battles fought in this period.

The number of battles that were fought in this period in England, to ſay nothing of ſkir-

126 Cluver. Antiq. German. l. 1. c. 50. p. 324, &c.

127 Chron. Saxon. p. 73. 80, &c.

miſhes, is almoſt incredible; and therefore we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that this pernicious art of ſhedding human blood was brought to greater perfection than other arts that were more uſeful and beneficent. We learn from the beſt authority, that king Ethered and his brother Alfred, fought no fewer than nine pitched battles, beſides many ſkirmiſhes, againſt the Danes in one year (871)[128]. The truth is, that war not only raged almoſt without interruption, in thoſe unhappy times, but alſo appeared in its moſt horrid aſpect, and was productive of the moſt deplorable calamities, eſpecially to the vanquiſhed. For victorious armies too often did not content themſelves with the deſtruction of thoſe who had oppoſed them in the field, but wreaked their vengeance alſo on defenceleſs ſlaves, women, and children.

Arts of fortifying ſtrong places.

The obſervations which have been already made on the civil, may be applied to the military architecture of the Anglo-Saxons. They were both very imperfect; and for that reaſon it will not be neceſſary to ſpend much time in delineating their methods of fortifying, defending, and attacking ſtrong places. The Saxons, in the courſe of their long wars againſt the Britons, deſtroyed many of the fortifications that had been erected by the Romans; and after their ſettlement in Britain, they neglected to repair thoſe that remained, or to build any of their

[128] Chron. Saxon. p. 81.

own. By this means, this country became almoſt quite open and defenceleſs; which greatly facilitated the incurſions of the Danes, who met with little obſtruction from fortified places. Alfred the Great ſeems to have been the firſt of the Anglo-Saxon kings who was ſenſible of this defect, and endeavoured to provide a remedy. This admirable prince, after he had reduced the Danes, and reſtored the tranquillity of his country, ſpent much of his time and revenues in repairing the ruined walls of London and other cities, and in building forts in the moſt convenient places, for the protection of his ſubjects. "What ſhall I ſay (cries his hiſtorian) of the "cities, which he repaired, and of the royal "forts and caſtles which he built of ſtone and "wood, with admirable art; in doing which he "met with much oppoſition and trouble from "the indolence of his people, who could not "be perſuaded to ſubmit to any labour for the "common ſafety? How often, and how earneſtly, did he beſeech, intreat, and at length "command and threaten, his biſhops, aldermen, and nobles, to imitate his example, and "build caſtles for the defence of themſelves, "their families, and friends? But, alas! ſuch "was their invincible ſloth and inactivity, that "all his perſuaſions, commands, and threats, "had little influence upon them; and they either did not build at all, or did not begin to "build till it was too late, and their enemies "came upon them before their works were "finiſhed.

" finiſhed. It is true, indeed, when they be-
" held their parents, wives, children, friends,
" and ſervants, killed or taken priſoners, and
" their goods and furniture deſtroyed, they be-
" wailed their own folly, and applauded the
" prudence of their ſovereign, which they had
" before reproached [129]." His own daughter Elfleda, governeſs of Mercia, ſeems to have been the only perſon in the kingdom who properly complied with the commands, and imitated the example, of her illuſtrious father. For that heroic princeſs, who inherited more of the wiſdom and ſpirit of Alfred than any of his children, not only fought many battles againſt the Danes, but alſo built many caſtles to check their incurſions. In Henry of Huntingdon, we have the names of no fewer than eight caſtles that were built by Elfleda in the ſhort ſpace of three years [130]. From this time, the building, repairing, and defending caſtles, became an object of public attention, and one of the three ſervices to which all the lands of England were ſubjected. When we reflect on the low ſtate of the arts, and particularly of architecture, among the Anglo-Saxons, we cannot ſuppoſe that their caſtles were either very ſtrong or very beautiful. They generally conſiſted of two parts, a baſs-court, and a keep or dungeon. The baſs-court was a piece of ground, ſometimes about

[129] Aſſer. de Rebus geſtis Alfredi, p. 17, 18.
[130] Hen. Hunt. Hiſt. p. 204.

an acre in extent, ſurrounded with a high and thick ſtone wall, with a garreted parapet on the top; from whence the garriſon diſcharged their weapons on the aſſailants. This wall had alſo many ſmall windows, or rather ſlits, in it, very narrow in proportion to their height, through which they ſhot their arrows. The lodgings for the officers and ſoldiers were built in the area, and along the inſide of the wall. At one end of the baſs-court was a round mount, ſometimes artificial, and ſometimes natural, on which the keep or dungeon ſtood, which was a circular ſtone building, with thick and high walls. From the top of this building, which was flat, the garriſon had an extenſive proſpect of the ſurrounding country, that they might diſcover the approaches of their enemies; and from thence alſo the chief defence was made. The body of the keep, which ſometimes conſiſted of ſeveral ſtories, contained the lodgings of the commander of the caſtle; and in the bottom was the priſon, under ground, and without light; from whence the whole building was often called the dungeon. Such was the general plan of the Anglo-Saxon caſtles; though the different taſtes of their builders, ſituations of the ground, and other circumſtances, ſometimes occaſioned conſiderable deviations from this plan[131]. The veſtiges of Daniſh caſtles, or rather camps, are ſtill viſible in many parts of Britain, of a circular form,

[131] See Dr. Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, l. 4. c. 9.

ſur-

ſurrounded with ditches and ramparts; but do not merit a more particular deſcription in a general hiſtory [132].

Arts of attacking ſtrong places.

The arts of fortifying and attacking towns and caſtles commonly improve or decay together, and bear a due proportion to each other; and therefore, though the Anglo-Saxon caſtles above deſcribed muſt appear to us exceedingly weak and artleſs, they afforded no leſs advantage and ſecurity to their defenders, than the moſt regular fortifications do to theirs in the preſent age; becauſe the modes of attacking them were feeble and artleſs in the ſame degree. For the moſt part, they were attempted to be taken by a ſudden bold aſſault; by wounding and killing their defenders with ſtones, arrows, darts, and ſpears, by ſcaling their walls, and burſting open their gates, or ſetting them on fire. Theſe are the methods which we ſee practiſed in the attack of a caſtle, in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux [133]. When the defenders of a town or caſtle were diſpoſed to ſurrender, the commander, putting the keys of it on the point of his ſpear, reached them over the wall; and from thence they were taken by the general of the beſieging army [134]. If the aſſailants were repulſed, they ſeldom returned to the charge, or perſiſted in their enterpriſe; for we meet with very few ſieges of any length in the Anglo-Saxon hiſtory. Alfred the Great ſeems

[132] See Dr. Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, l. 4. c. 8.
[133] Memoires de Literature, t. 12, p. 400. [134] Id. ibid.

to

to have been the only perſon who had any idea of a blockade, or confining a garriſon within their walls, cutting off their ſupplies, and obliging them to ſurrender for want of proviſions[135]. A great variety of military engines were invented in the middle ages, for battering the walls of towns and caſtles, and for throwing ſtones of a prodigious weight, which were the artillery of thoſe times; but we have not ſufficient evidence, that thoſe engines were uſed in Britain in this period; and therefore it is not proper to introduce the account of them in this place[136]. The truth is, that the arts of fortifying, defending, and beſieging places of ſtrength, were very much improved by the Normans; which will render this part of the military art more worthy of a minute inveſtigation in the ſixth volume of this work.

General obſervation on the ſtate of the neceſſary arts.

Such ſeems to have been the ſtate of the neceſſary arts in this iſland, and particularly among the Anglo-Saxons, in this period. The fondeſt admirers of antiquity will not deny, that all theſe arts were very imperfect, in compariſon of what they had been in provincial Britain in the Roman times, and of what they are at preſent.

The fine arts.

It is now proper to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of the fine or pleaſing arts of ſculpture, painting, poetry, and muſic.

Sculpture among the Pagan Saxons.

If the ſculptor's and ſtatuary's art doth not owe its origin, it certainly owes its greateſt improvements, to idolatry. Nations who worſhip

135 Chron. Saxon. p. 95. 136 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 473.

images

images naturally encourage thoſe amongſt them who have any taſte or genius for the art of making them; and thoſe artiſts as naturally exert all their ſkill in making the objects of worſhip in as perfect a manner as poſſible. As the Anglo-Saxons, at their ſettlement in this iſland, were idolaters, they had probably ſome amongſt them who had the art of carving in wood, or cutting in ſtone the images of their gods, Woden, Thor, Frea, &c. though in a rude and clumſy ſtyle. That they had idols or ſtatues of their imaginary deities in their temples, we have the cleareſt evidence in the letter written by pope Boniface to Edwin king of Northumberland, A. D. 625. Theſe idols are ſpoken of at great length, and he is exhorted to deſtroy them [157]. When Coiſi, the chief prieſt of the Northumbrian Saxons, was converted to Chriſtianity, A. D. 627, he overturned the altars, and broke down the ſtatues of their gods, in the great temple at Godmundham near York. The ſhapes of the ſtatues of the Anglo-Saxon deities, with their various emblems, are ſtill preſerved in ſeveral authors [158].

When the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Chriſtianity, in the courſe of the ſixth and ſeventh centuries, their idols were deſtroyed, and the art of making them not only neglected as uſeleſs, but abhorred as impious. But that art did not long continue in a ſtate of neglect and deteſta-

Among the Anglo-Saxons after their converſion to Chriſtianity.

157 Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 10.

158 Ailet Sammes Britan. Antiq. p. 446. Verſtegan's Reſtitution, &c.

tion,

tion. For the images of the ſaints having been introduced into many of the Chriſtian churches on the continent, it was not long before they found their way into ſome of the churches in this iſland. At firſt theſe images were imported from Rome, probably becauſe there were no artiſts in Britain who could make them; but by degrees, as the demand for them encreaſed, the art of making them was revived [139]. As very few ſpecimens of the Anglo-Saxon ſculpture are now remaining, we cannot form an exact judgment of their taſte and manner. In general, we may conclude, that their works, like thoſe of their cotemporary artiſts of France and Italy, were awkward, ſtiff, and flat [140]. For when the art of maſonry was ſo imperfect as it hath been repreſented, it is not to be imagined, that the art of ſculpture had attained to any great degree of perfection. Thoſe who have an opportunity of viewing the figures in baſſo-relievo, on the baptiſmal font at Bridekirk in Cumberland, or thoſe on the pillar in the church-yard of Buecaſtle, in the ſame county, or thoſe of the obeliſk in the church of Ruthwel in Annandale, which were all cut in this period by the Dano-Saxon inhabitants of thoſe parts, will probably be of this opinion.

Paintings imported.

The painters, as well as ſculptors of the ages we are now conſidering, were chiefly employed

[139] Bedæ Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuthen. p. 295. 297.

[140] See Montfaucon Monumens, t. 1. Murator. t. 2. diſſertat. 24.

in

in working for the church, by drawing pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the apoſtles, and other ſaints. This practice of adorning churches with pictures, begun in the Eaſt, was early introduced at Rome, and from thence ſpread into all the other countries of Europe where Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed [141]. The firſt pictures that were uſed for the ornament of the Anglo-Saxon churches in this iſland were brought from Rome. Benedict Biſcop, the founder of the monaſtery of Weremouth, as we are told by venerable Bede, imported great numbers of theſe pictures from Rome, for the uſe of the church of his monaſtery. "In his fourth voyage, A. D. "678, he brought from Rome many pictures of "the ſaints, for the ornament of the church of "St. Peter, which he had built, viz.—a picture "of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God,— "and the pictures of the twelve apoſtles, which "he hung up in the body of the church on a "partition of wood from the ſouth to the north "wall;—pictures of the goſpel-hiſtory, with "which he decorated the ſouth-wall;—and pic- "tures of the viſions of St. John in the Apo- "calypſe, with which he adorned the north-wall; "—that all the people who entered this church, "though ignorant of letters, might contemplate "the amiable aſpect of Chriſt and his ſaints in "theſe pictures, wherever they turned their "eyes [142]." Benedict having built another mo-

[141] Du Pin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cent. 4. in Epiphan.
[142] Bed. Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 295.

naſtery

naſtery at Iarrow, and dedicated the church of it to St. Paul, made another journey to Rome, to procure ornaments for his new church and monaſtery, A. D. 685. "Benedict having conſtituted Eſterwin abbot of his monaſtery of St. Peter at Weremouth, and Ceolfrid abbot of his monaſtery of St. Paul at Iarrow, made a fifth journey to Rome; from whence he returned with a great treaſure of ſacred things, as uſual; particularly a great number of religious books and pictures: for at this time he brought pictures of the whole goſpel-hiſtory, with which he covered the walls of the chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin, which he had built in his larger monaſtery at Weremouth. For the ornament of the church of St. Paul, in his monaſtery of Iarrow, he brought pictures of the concord of the Old and New Teſtaments, executed with wonderful art and wiſdom. For example, the picture of Iſaac carrying the wood on which he was to be ſacrificed, and the picture of Chriſt carrying the croſs on which he was to be crucified, were placed next to each other; and in like manner, the ſerpent lifted up by Moſes in the wilderneſs, and the Son of Man lifted up on the croſs[143]." From the above account, given by one who ſpent his whole life in the monaſteries of Weremouth and Iarrow, and daily ſaw the pictures which he deſcribes, it plainly appears, that theſe

[143] Bed. Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuth. p. 295.

two

two churches in the north of England, in the ſeventh century, were adorned not only with many ſingle portraits, but alſo with a conſiderable collection of hiſtorical paintings; and if we were as well informed of the ſtate of ſome other churches, we ſhould perhaps find, that they were no worſe provided in theſe ornaments.

Paintings executed in England.

As the veneration and demand for the pictures of the ſaints increaſed, the inconveniency of bringing them all from foreign countries was ſenſibly felt; and therefore ſuch of the Engliſh, particularly of the clergy, as had a taſte for painting, applied to that art, in order to furniſh their own churches with theſe admired ornaments. The famous St. Dunſtan, who ſeems to have been an univerſal genius, was eſteemed an excellent painter by his cotemporaries, and employed his pencil only on religious ſubjects[144]. A picture of Chriſt, drawn by this ſainted artiſt, with his own picture proſtrate at its feet, and ſeveral inſcriptions in his own hand-writing, are ſtill preſerved in the Bodleian library[145]. So neceſſary were the pictures of the ſaints believed to be, that no church could be conſecrated without ſome relics, and the picture of the ſaint to which it was dedicated. At the firſt introduction of theſe pictures into the Anglo-Saxon churches, it was pretended, that they were intended only to be helps to devotion, and a kind of books for the inſtruction of thoſe who could not read the

144 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 94. 145 Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 144.

ſcrip-

ſcriptures; and it was with theſe vews that venerable Bede contended for their lawfulneſs and expediency [146]. But the veneration of the people for theſe pictures did not long ſtop here, but gradually increaſed to the moſt groſs and impious idolatry; which occaſioned a prodigious demand for theſe objects of devotion, and no doubt brought the art of painting to greater perfection in this period than many of the other arts. Portraits of other perſons beſides canonized ſaints, particularly of the dignified clergy, appear to have been very numerous. "Styward (ſays "William of Malmſbury) was appointed abbot "of Glaſtonbury A. D. 981. The pictures of "this abbot are a ſufficient proof that his "manners were very ſuitable to his name. For "in all theſe pictures he is repreſented with a "whip or rod for diſcipline in his hand [147]." Even hiſtory-painting, repreſenting the principal actions of the lives of great princes and generals, do not ſeem to have been very uncommon in England in this period. Edelfleda, widow of the famous Brithnod duke of Northumberland, in the tenth century, preſented to the church of Ely, "a curtain, which had the hiſtory of the "great actions of her deceaſed lord painted upon "it, to preſerve the memory of his great valour "and other virtues [148]."

146 Bedæ Opera, t. 8. de Templo Salomonis, c. 19.
147 W. Malmſ. Antiq. Glaſton. apud Gale, t. 1. p. 317.
148 Hiſt. Elien. l. 2. c. 7.

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Painting on glaſs.

The arts of colouring and painting glaſs were probably known and practiſed in England in the ages we are now conſidering. If we could be certain that the figures of Alfred the Great, and of his grandſon Athelſtan, in the window of the library of All-Souls college at Oxford, had been brought from Beverly, where they had been painted not long after the age in which theſe princes flouriſhed, we ſhould have an opportunity of judging of the ſtate of that curious art in this period[149]. In that large collection of receipts for performing various works of art, in the eighth century, preſerved in the work quoted below[150], there are directions for ſtaining glaſs ſeveral different colours, in order to form figures and pictures of Moſaic work.

Art of poetry much cultivated in this period.

But of all the pleaſing arts, poetry was the moſt admired and cultivated by all the nations of Britain, in the ages we are now delineating. In the fifth chapter of the firſt volume of this work, we have attempted to account for that ſtrong propenſity to the ſublime and ardent ſtrains of poetry which hath appeared in all nations, in the moſt early period of their hiſtory, when they were emerging from the ſavage ſtate[151]. Whatever becomes of that account, the fact is undeniable; and is confirmed by the ancient hiſtory of all thoſe nations of Germany and Scandinavia, from whom the Anglo-Saxon and Dano-Saxon

149 Vita Ælfredi a Spelman. tab. 2.

150 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 370.

151 See vol. 2. p. 168.

inhabitants of Britain derived their origin, as well as by that of the Celtic tribes, (who poſſeſſed the warmer regions of Europe,) from whom the ancient Britons were deſcended. This poetic fire was not extinguiſhed by the chilling blaſts, and almoſt eternal froſts of the north; but burnt with as intenſe a flame under the arctic circle as under the equator. The truth is, that the mountains of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and even Iceland, were the favourite ſeats of the Muſes in this period; and from ſome of thoſe countries they accompanied their votaries into this iſland. "All the ancient inhabitants of the north (ſays an excellent antiquary) compoſed, in rhymes and verſes, accounts of all things that deſerved to be remembered, either at home or abroad, that they might be more eaſily inſtilled into the minds of men, might make the deeper impreſſions on their memories, and be more effectually handed down to poſterity[152]." Every bold adventurer, when he ſet out on any piratical or military expedition, if he was not a great poet himſelf, which was frequently the caſe, never neglected to carry with him the beſt poets he could procure, to behold and celebrate his martial deeds[153]. We may be certain, therefore, that all the leaders of the ſeveral armies of Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and Danes, who formed ſettlements, and erected kingdoms, in this iſland,

[152] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 176. [153] Id. p. 195.

brought

brought their poets with them, to ſing their exploits and victories. The moſt ancient of thoſe hiſtorical and military ſongs have been long ſince loſt; but we have good reaſon to believe, that it is to them we owe many particulars in the moſt ancient part of our hiſtory. Some of our hiſtorians honeſtly confeſs, that they had no other authority for what they related but thoſe ancient poems; and one of thoſe ſongs, on the great victory which Athelſtan obtained over the Scots and Danes A. D. 938, is inſerted *verbatim* in the Saxon chronicle, and literally tranſlated by Henry of Huntington[154]. Another of thoſe ancient poems, on the death of king Edgar, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon Edward, A. D. 975, is inſerted in the ſame chronicle[155].

Poetry and poets greatly honoured in this period.

Never were poetry and poets ſo much admired and honoured as in the preſent period. The greateſt princes were no leſs ambitious of the laurel than of the royal crown. Alfred the Great was the prince of poets, as well as the beſt of kings, and employed his poetic talents to enlighten the minds and civilize the manners of his ſubjects[156]. Aldhelm, who was a prince of the royal family of Weſſex, and biſhop of Shereburn, was alſo the beſt poet of his age; and his poems were the delight and admiration of the Engliſh ſeveral centuries after his death[157]. Ca-

154 Wil. Malmſ. p. 3. Chron. Saxon. p. 112. Hen. Hunt. p. 204.
155 Chron. Saxon. p. 122. 156 Vita Ælfredi, p. 92.
157 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 4.

nute the Great was alſo a famous poet; and the firſt ſtanza of a ſong compoſed by him may be ſeen in the work quoted below[158]. Poets were the choſen friends and favourites of the greateſt kings; they ſeated them at their tables, advanced them to honours, loaded them with riches, and were ſo much delighted with their ſweet and lofty ſtrains, that they could deny them nothing. "We the bards of Britain, whom our prince "entertaineth on the 1ſt of January, ſhall every "one of us, in our rank and ſtation, enjoy mirth "and jollity, and receive gold and ſilver for our "reward.——Happy was the mother who bore "thee, who art wiſe and noble, and freely diſ-"tributeſt rich ſuits of garments, thy gold and "ſilver. Thy bards celebrate thee, for preſent-"ing them thy bred ſteeds, when they ſit at thy "tables. I myſelf am rewarded for my gift of "poetry, with gold and diſtinguiſhed reſpect. "Should I deſire of my prince the moon as a "preſent, he would certainly beſtow it on "me[159]." The poets of the north were particularly famous in this period, and greatly careſſed by our Anglo-Saxon kings. "It would be end-"leſs (ſays an excellent antiquary) to name all "the poets of the north who flouriſhed in the "courts of the kings of England, or to relate "the diſtinguiſhed honours and magnificent "preſents that were heaped upon them[160]."

[158] Hiſt. Elienſ. l. 2. c. 27.

[159] Specimens of Ancient Welſh Poetry, p. 34. 36.

[160] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 195.

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The ſame writer hath preſerved the names of no fewer than eight of thoſe Daniſh, Norwegian, and Icelandic poets, who flouriſhed in the court of Canute the Great, king of Denmark and England, and enjoyed the favour of that prince[161]. It ſeems to have been one of the chief amuſements of the greateſt princes in this period to hear the poems of their bards, to read their works, and even commit their verſes to memory. Alfred the Great, as we are told by his intimate friend and companion Aſſerius, amidſt that infinite multiplicity of affairs in which he was engaged, never neglected to ſpend ſome part of his time every day in getting Saxon poems by heart, and teaching them to others[162]. This too was alſo a very capital part of the education of the royal and noble youth of thoſe times[163].

Aſtoniſhing power of poetry.

The poems of thoſe ancient bards of the north are ſaid to have produced the moſt amazing effects on thoſe who heard them, and to have rouſed, or ſoothed, the moſt impetuous paſſions of the human mind, according to the intention of their authors. Revenge, it is well known, rages with the greateſt violence in the hearts of warlike fierce barbarians, and is of all their paſſions the moſt furious and ungovernable; and yet it is ſaid to have been ſubdued by the enchanting power of poetry. Egil Skallagrim, a famous poet of thoſe times, had quarrelled with Eric Blodox,

161 Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 243.

162 Aſſer. de Rebus geſtis Alfredi, p. 13. 163 Id. ibid.

king of Norway; and in the courſe of that quarrel had killed the king's ſon, and ſeveral of his friends; which raiſed the rage of Eric againſt him to the greateſt height. Egil was taken priſoner, and ſent to the king, who was then in Northumberland. No ſooner was he brought into the preſence of the enraged monarch, who had in his own mind doomed him to the moſt cruel tortures, than he began to ſing a poem which he had compoſed in praiſe of his royal virtues, and conveyed his flattery in ſuch ſweet and ſoothing ſtrains, that they procured him not only the forgiveneſs of all his crimes, but even the favour of his prince[164]. The power of poetry is thus poetically deſcribed in one of their moſt ancient odes: "I know a ſong by which I ſoften "and enchant the arms of my enemies, and "render their weapons of none effect. I know "a ſong which I need only to ſing when men "have loaded me with bonds; for the moment "I ſing it my chains fall in pieces, and I walk "forth at liberty. I know a ſong uſeful to all "mankind; for as ſoon as hatred inflames the "ſons of men, the moment I ſing it they are "appeaſed. I know a ſong of ſuch virtue, that "were I caught in a ſtorm, I can huſh the winds, "and render the air perfectly calm[165]."

The poets of nature, and not of art.

Thoſe ancient bards who had acquired ſo great an aſcendant over the minds of their ferocious

164 Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 195.

165 Bartholin, p. 347. Northern Antiquities, vol. 2. p. 217.

country-

countrymen, muſt certainly have been poſſeſſed of an uncommon portion of that poetic fire, which is the gift of nature, and cannot be acquired by art. This is directly aſſerted by one who was well acquainted with their works: "In other "languages, any perſon of common underſtand- "ing may make verſes of ſome kind; and, by "conſtant practice, may even become expert at "making them: but in our Dano-Saxon lan- "guage, no man can become a poet of the "loweſt order, by any efforts, unleſs he is in- "ſpired with ſome degree of the true poetic "flame. This ſacred fire, like all the other "gifts of nature, is beſtowed in very unequal "meaſures. There are ſome who can compoſe "excellent verſes by the help of thought and "ſtudy, while others, bleſſed with a greater "portion of the true poetic ſpirit, pour forth a "torrent of verſes of all kinds with perfect eaſe, "without premeditation. This happy genius "for poetry diſcovers itſelf even in infancy, by "ſuch manifeſt indications, that it cannot be "miſtaken, and is obſerved to be moſt ardent "about the change of the moon. When a "poet of this high order and fervid ſpirit is "ſpeaking of his art, or pouring out his verſes, "he hath the appearance of one that is mad or "drunk. Nay, the very external marks of this "poetic fury, are in ſome ſo ſtrong and obvious, "that a ſtranger will diſcover them at firſt ſight "to be great poets, by certain ſingular looks

" and geſtures, which are called in our language " *Skallvingl*, i. e. the poetical vertigo[166]."

Curious account of one of thoſe ancient poets.

Venerable Bede gives a very curious account of a Saxon poet, called *Cædmon*, a monk in the abbey of Streaneſhalch (now Whitby) in the ſeventh century, who exactly anſwered the above deſcription. The moſt ſublime ſtrains of poetry were ſo natural to this ancient bard, that he dreamed in verſe, and compoſed the moſt admirable poems in his ſleep; which he repeated as ſoon as he awoke. A part of one of thoſe poems is preſerved in king Alfred's Saxon verſion of Bede's hiſtory, and is much admired by thoſe who are moſt capable of forming a right judgment of its merit[167]. Bede gives a Latin tranſlation of the exordium of this poem, but confeſſeth that it falls far ſhort of the beauty of the original; " for it is impoſſible (ſays he) to tranſlate verſes " that are truly poetical, out of one language " into another, without loſing much of their " original dignity and ſpirit[168]." For this reaſon, I ſhall not attempt an Engliſh tranſlation of this curious fragment. Cædmon was a man of low birth, and little or no learning, but poſſeſſed ſo great a portion of that divine enthuſiaſm with which the true poet is inſpired, that he turned every thing he heard into the ſweeteſt verſes, without any toil or effort. As he was a

[166] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 193.

[167] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Saxonice redita, p. 597. Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 197.

[168] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 24.

monk,

monk, and, according to the mode of thoſe times, a pious man, he employed his poetic talents only on religious ſubjects, and compoſed poems on all parts of the Old and New Teſtament. "He ſung (ſays Bede) the creation of "the world,—the origin of mankind, and the "whole hiſtory of the book of Geneſis,—the "deliverance of the Iſraelites out of Egypt,— "their taking poſſeſſion of the land of promiſe, "and many other ſcripture-hiſtories. He ſung "of the incarnation, paſſion, reſurrection, and "aſcenſion of our Saviour; of the giving of "the Holy Ghoſt, and the preaching of the "apoſtles. In a word, he compoſed poems on "the divine bleſſings and judgments,—on the "terrors of the laſt day,—on the joys of heaven, "—the pains of hell,—and on many other reli- "gious ſubjects, to deter men from the love "of vice, and excite them to the love and prac- "tice of virtue[169]." All the works of this ancient poet of nature are unhappily loſt, except the ſmall fragment above mentioned, which is the moſt venerable relic of the Dano-Saxon language and poetry. For the learned Dr. Hickes is of opinion, that the poetical paraphraſe on the book of Geneſis, publiſhed by Junius as Cædmon's, is not really the work of that ancient bard[170].

169 Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 24.

170 See the moſt perfect copy of this fragment in Wanlei Catalog. Lib. Septentrional. p. 287.

Language of thoſe ancient poets.

The language of the Saxon, Daniſh, and other northern poets, was highly figurative and metaphorical; but thoſe figures and metaphors were not the arbitrary inventions of every particular poet, but eſtabliſhed by ancient and univerſal practice. This prevented, in ſome meaſure, that obſcurity, which ſo conſtant a ſucceſſion of ſtrong figures would otherwiſe have occaſioned. Rogvald, earl of the Orkney iſles, who was a famous poet as well as a great warrior, compiled a kind of dictionary of thoſe eſtabliſhed figures and metaphors, for the uſe both of poets and their readers, which he entitled the *Poetical Key*[171]. Many of thoſe poetical metaphors were taken from the ancient Pagan theology and mythology of the northern nations. For example, —heaven was "the ſcull of the giant Imar;"—the rainbow was "the bridge of the gods;"—gold was "the tears of Freya;"—poetry, "the pre-"ſent, (or) the drink of Odin;"—the earth, "the ſpouſe of Odin, the fleſh of Imar, (or) the "daughter of night;"—a battle, "the hail of "Odin," &c. All theſe and many others of the ſame kind, were alluſions to particular fables in the Edda[172]. But the far greateſt number of theſe poetical metaphors were taken from the appearances, properties, and uſes of natural objects. Thus, herbs and plants were "the hair "of the earth, (or) the fleece of the earth;"—the

[171] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 195.
[172] Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 395.

ſun

ſun, "the candle of the gods;"—the ſea, "the "field of pirates, the girdle of the earth, the "country of whales;"—ice, "the greateſt of "bridges;"—a ſhip, "the horſe of the waves;" —a combat, "the bath of blood, (or) the clang "of bucklers;"—arrows, "the birds of war, "(or) the ſnakes of war;"—ſoldiers, "the "wolves of war;"—the tongue, "the ſword of "words;"—the ſoul, "the treaſure of the "breaſt, (or) the keeper of the bony houſe," &c. &c.[173]. But after all, this profuſion of metaphors, and other figures, together with the very involved arrangement of the words, of which many are purely poetical, and never uſed in proſe, render the ſtyle of the Saxon, Daniſh, and other northern poets, not a little obſcure to the greateſt proficients in thoſe languages among the moderns, though perhaps it appeared ſufficiently clear to their cotemporaries.

Rules of verſification.

The rules and meaſures of the verſification of the ancient Saxon and Daniſh poets, are ſtill more obſcure, if not quite inexplicable. This is owing to the great ſingularity, prodigious artifice, and almoſt endleſs variety of the kinds and meaſures of their verſes. "The different kinds "of verſes (ſays one of the beſt judges) com- "poſed by the Saxon, Daniſh, and Icelandic "poets, were almoſt innumerable: for ſuch "was the greatneſs and fertility of their genius,

[173] Northern Antiquities, vol. 1. p. 395. Hickeſii Theſaur. t. I. p. 199.

"that

" that there was no end of their inventions. It " may, however, be obſerved, that the number " of the different kinds of verſes commonly " uſed by theſe poets, did not exceed one hun- " dred and thirty-ſix, without including that " kind in which our modern poets ſo much de- " light, which conſiſts wholly in ending every " two lines with ſimilar ſounds. The harmony " of theſe different kinds of verſes did not con- " ſiſt only in the ſucceſſion of long and ſhort " ſyllables, according to certain rules, as among " the Greeks and Romans; nor in the ſimilar " ſounds of the terminating ſyllables, as among " the moderns; but in a certain conſonancy and " repetition of the ſame letters, ſyllables, and " ſounds, in different parts of the ſtanza, which " produced the moſt muſical tones, and af- " fected the hearers with the moſt marvellous " delight [174]."

Rules of the drot-quæt, or common ſong.

Our ears, being quite unaccuſtomed to theſe ancient modes of verſification, cannot be ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of their harmony but in a very imperfect degree; and therefore a very particular account of them would neither be pleaſing nor inſtructive. It may not, however, be improper to gratify the curioſity of our readers, by laying before them the rules of one of theſe kinds of verſe, which will enable them to form a general idea of all the reſt. The kind of verſe moſt proper for this purpoſe, is

[174] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 177, 192.

that

that which was called *Drotquæt* or *common ſong*, being that which was moſt commonly uſed in ſinging the praiſes of their kings and heroes. This kind of verſe was conſtructed in the following manner.

Each verſe or line conſiſted of ſix ſyllables, each diſtich of two lines, and each ſtanza of four diſtichs, or eight lines.

The harmony of this kind of verſe in each diſtich was partly literary and partly ſyllabical.

The literary harmony conſiſted in this, that three words in each diſtich ſhould begin with the ſame letters, two in the firſt line of the diſtich, and one in the ſecond. Theſe initials were called the ſonorous letters.

The ſyllabical harmony conſiſted in this, that there ſhould be two ſyllables of ſimilar ſounds in each line, which were called the ſonorous ſyllables.

This ſyllabical harmony was either perfect or imperfect. It was perfect when the ſimilar ſyllables conſiſted both of the ſame vowels and conſonants; imperfect when they conſiſted of the ſame conſonants, but not of the ſame vowels. The ſyllabical harmony might be imperfect in the firſt line of a diſtich, but it was always to be perfect in the ſecond.

All theſe rules are illuſtrated and examplified in the two following Latin lines, which form a diſtich of the drotquæt or common ſong of the Danes and Saxons. The ſonorous letters and ſyllables

ſyllables are in capitals, that they may be more readily diſtinguiſhed.

" ChrISTus Caput nOSTrum
" CorONet te bONis."

In this diſtich C is the ſonorous letter, and begins two words in the firſt line, and one in the ſecond. In the firſt line, IST and OST are the two ſonorous ſyllables, but imperfect, conſiſting of the ſame conſonants, but not of the ſame vowels. ON and ON are the ſonorous ſyllables in the ſecond line, being perfect, as conſiſting both of the ſame vowels and conſonants, all agreeable to the above rules. Four ſuch diſtichs formed a complete ſtanza of the drotquæt; of which the reader will find ſeveral examples, as well as a more minute deſcription, in the learned and curious work ſo often quoted on this ſubject [175].

Great variety of verſification.

It is eaſy to perceive, from the above example, that this alliterative and ſyllabical harmony was capable of almoſt endleſs variations, by changing the length of the verſes, the number and poſition of the ſonorous letters and ſyllables, and by other methods. This gave the Saxon and Daniſh poets great opportunities of diſplaying their genius, by producing ſo many different ſpecies of verſe. Nor was this kind of harmony ariſing from the repetition and artful diſpoſition of ſimilar ſounds and letters, peculiar

[175] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, in Append.

to

to the ſcalds or poets of England and Scandinavia; but was cultivated, in ſome degree, by thoſe of all the other nations of the world of whom we have any knowledge. Of this a thouſand examples might eaſily be produced, in various languages; but the reader will probably be ſatisfied with a few from the moſt celebrated Latin poets, which he will find in a note [176].

Example in Engliſh.

This mode of verſification continued to be occaſionally uſed by the poets of England long after the concluſion of the period we are now examining. The following example, from the viſions of Pierce Plowman, publiſhed about the middle of the fourteenth century, may be taken both as an illuſtration and a proof of this. This ſpecimen will be found to approach very near to the rules of the drotquæt or common ſong above deſcribed, but deviates a little from them, and thereby ſhews what ſmall variations produced a new kind of verſe.

" In a ſomer ſeaſon,
" When hot was the ſun,
" I ſhope me into ſhroubs
" As I a ſhepe were,
" Inhabit as an harmet,
" Unholy of werkes,

176 O Tite! tute Tati tibi tanta tyranni tuliſti. *Ennius.*
Non potuit paucis plura plane proloqui. *Plautus.*
Libera lingua loquuntur ludis liberalibus. *Nævius.*
Theſea cedentem celeri cum claſſe tuetur. *Catullus.*
Ductores Danaum delecti prima virorum. *Lucretius.*
Pectora plauſa cavis, et colla comantia pectunt. *Virgilius.*
Vide plura apud Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 195, 196.

" Went

" Went wyde in this world
" Wonders to heare [177]."

Had a great regard to quantities.

Beſides this alliterative harmony, the Saxon and Daniſh poets are believed to have had as ſtrict a regard to the harmonious ſucceſſion of long and ſhort ſyllables as thoſe of Greece and Rome; which afforded them another mean of multiplying their modes of verſification. Their language was much better fitted for this kind of harmony than modern Engliſh, as it had not near ſo great a proportion of words of one ſyllable, and as its quantities were much better fixed and aſcertained [178]. " The Anglo-Saxons " (ſays one of the greateſt critics), conſcious of " the dignity, elegance, ſweetneſs, and har- " mony of their language, were much ad- " dicted to poetry. That kind of verſe in which " they moſt delighted was the Adonian (con- " ſiſting of one long two ſhort and two long " ſyllables), though they ſometimes deviated a " little from the ſtrict rules of that meaſure. " For as the Greek and Latin poets, when they " wrote iambicks, did not always adhere to the " ſtricteſt laws of that kind of verſe, but made " uſe of various liberties; ſo the Anglo-Saxon " and Dano-Saxon poets allowed themſelves " equal liberties in compoſing their Adonics [179]."

[177] See Relics of ancient Engliſh Poetry, ſecond edit. vol. 2. p. 269, &c.

[178] Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 188.

[179] Wanleii Catalog. in Præfat. ſub fin.

The

The truth is, that a very great number of the Anglo-Saxon verſes now remaining are Adonics, or ſomething very like them [180].

Uſed rhymes.

Though the Saxon, Daniſh, and other northern ſcalds, had no fewer than one hundred and thirty-ſix different kinds of verſe, without including rhyme, there is the cleareſt evidence that they were not unacquainted with this laſt ſpecies of verſification. To ſay nothing of their introducing rhyme into their Latin poetry, there are not a few of their poems in their own language ſtill extant, which are moſt exactly rhymed. and ſome of them have even double rhymes [181]. So many different methods had the ancient poets of Britain and Scandinavia, of pleaſing the ears, and delighting the imaginations of their countrymen, while thoſe of modern Europe are limited to a very few!

Britiſh poets.

All the obſervations that have been made above, concerning the verſification of the Saxon ſcops or poets, and of the northern ſcalds [182], may be applied to the bards of Wales and Scotland in this period. For though the languages in which the ſcalds and bards ſung their tuneful ſtrains, were as different as it is poſſible for any two languages to be, yet there appears to have

180 Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 189, &c.

181 Northern Antiquities, vol. 1. p. 309.

182 The Saxon name for a poet was *ſcop* or *ſceop*, from the verb *ſceoppan*, "to ſhape (or) make;" the Daniſh name was *ſcald*, from *ſcaldre*, "to poliſh."

been a very ſurpriſing ſimilarity between their modes of verſification, both being exceedingly various, and chiefly of the alliterative kind. Whether this ſimilarity was owing to the Welſh bards having imitated the Saxon ſcops and Daniſh ſcalds (as ſome imagine), or to ſomething in nature, and the ſtate of ſociety, which directed them all to purſue the ſame courſe, (as others fancy), it is not eaſy to determine[183]. The poetic genius of the provincial Britons was much depreſſed during their long ſubjection to the Romans; but it revived when they recovered their liberty, and ſhone forth in its meridian luſtre, when they were engaged in their long and bloody ſtruggle with the Saxons[184]. The bards then raiſed their voices, and rouſed their countrymen to fight bravely in defence of their country, their liberty, their parents, wives, children, and religion, by the moſt animating ſtrains. It was in this period (the ſixth century) that Talieſin, the king of bards, Ancurin, Llywarch-Hen, Cian, Talhiarn, and all the moſt famous Welſh poets flouriſhed[185]. But unfortunately the works of ſome of theſe poets are loſt, and thoſe of the others become obſcure, and almoſt unintelligible[186].

Various kinds of poems.

It would ſwell this article beyond all proportion to enumerate and give examples of all the

[183] See Northern Antiquities, vol. 2. p. 196, &c.
[184] See vol. 2. p. 190.
[185] Evan Evan Diſſertatio de Bardis. [186] Id. ibid.

different

different kinds of poems compoſed by the Britiſh, Saxon, and Daniſh poets, of this iſland, in this period. The ſubjects of their ſongs were as various as their verſification. To ſay nothing of their religious hymns, and their poems in praiſe of ſaints, which were very numerous, they inflamed the courage of combatants, and taught the battle to rage, by their martial ſongs: they celebrated the exploits, and ſung the victories, of heroes, and preſerved the memory of all great events, in their hiſtorical compoſitions: the beauties of the fair, and the joys and cares of virtuous love, were not forgotten: nor did they neglect to laſh the vices of bad men by their ſatires, or to lament the ſorrows of the diſconſolate by their elegies, or to increaſe the pleaſures of feſtivity by their mirthful glees. Examples of all theſe kinds of poems, and of ſeveral others, may be ſeen in the books quoted below [187].

Muſic was as much admired and cultivated as poetry by all the nations who inhabited this iſland in the period we are now examining. Theſe two pleaſing arts were inſeparable and univerſal. The halls of all the kings, princes, and nobles of Britain, rung with the united melody of the poet's voice and the muſician's harp; while every mountain, hill, and dale, was vocal. The Muſic.

[187] Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 2. Bartholin. de Cauſis cotemp. Mortis. Olai Literatura Danica. Shiffer Hiſt. Lapon. Five pieces of Runic Poetry. Specimens of ancient Welſh Poetry, &c.

poet and the muſician was indeed moſt commonly the ſame perſon; who, bleſſed at once with a poetical genius, a tuneful voice, and ſkilful hand, ſung and played the ſongs which he had compoſed. Talents ſo various and delightful were objects of ambition to the greateſt monarchs, and procured the meaneſt who poſſeſſed them, both riches, honours, and royal favour. Alfred the Great, who united every pleaſing to every great accompliſhment, excelled as much in muſic as he did in war; and raviſhed his enemies with his harp, before he ſubdued them with his ſword. "Not long after (ſays one of "the beſt of our ancient hiſtorians), Alfred ad-"ventured to leave his hiding-place in the iſle "of Æthelingey, and gave a proof of his great "wiſdom and dexterity. For taking his harp "in his hand, and pretending to be a poet and "muſician, he entered the Daniſh camp, at-"tended only by one faithful friend. Being "admitted into the royal tent, he entertained "the king and his nobles, ſeveral days, with "his ſongs and muſic, and thereby had an op-"portunity of gaining all the intelligence he "deſired[188]." We learn from the ſame hiſtorian, that Anlaff, the Daniſh king of Northumberland, practiſed the ſame ſtratagem againſt king Athelſtan, and almoſt with the ſame ſucceſs. "He ſung ſo ſweetly before the royal "tent, and at the ſame time touched his harp

[188] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 4.

"with

" with ſuch exquiſite ſkill, that he was invited to " enter; and having entertained the king and " his nobles with his muſic while they ſat at " dinner, he was diſmiſſed with a valuable pre- " ſent[189]." The famous Egil Skillagrim, the Norwegian poet already mentioned, was ſo great a favourite with the ſame king Athelſtan, on account of his muſical and poetical talents, in which he equally excelled, that he loaded him with riches and honours, and could deny him nothing[190]. The firſt muſician, who was alſo a poet, was the eighth officer in dignity in the courts of the kings of Wales, and had a place in the royal hall next to the ſteward of the houſehold[191]. But it would be endleſs to produce all the proofs that occur in hiſtory of the high eſteem in which thoſe who excelled in muſic were held in the courts of the Daniſh, Saxon, and Britiſh princes of this period.

Muſic univerſally cultivated.

Some ſkill in vocal and inſtrumental muſic ſeems to have been neceſſary to every man who wiſhed to mingle in decent company; and to be without it was eſteemed diſgraceful. This appears from a very curious paſſage in Bede's account of the religious poet Cædmon. " This " extraordinary perſon was ſo devout and pious, " that he could never make any poems on com- " mon and trifling ſubjects; and no ſtrains ever " proceeded out of his mouth, but ſuch as

189 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 6.
190 Arngr. Ionaſ. Iſland. c. l. 2. p. 129.
191 Leges Wallicæ, p. 35.

" breathed a ſpirit of piety and religion. Even " before he became a monk, when he was in a " ſecular ſtate of life, in which he continued till " he was of an advanced age, he never learned " any of thoſe frivolous ſongs that were in " common uſe. Of theſe he was ſo totally ig- " norant, that when he happened to be at an " entertainment, and it was propoſed, as uſual, " that every perſon preſent ſhould ſing and play " on the harp in his turn, to increaſe the feſ- " tivity of the company; as ſoon as he ſaw the " harp, which was handed about, approaching " near to him, he aroſe, ſneaked out of the " company, and retired to his own houſe [192]." Alfred the Great, in his Saxon verſion of Bede's hiſtory, ſuggeſts the reaſon of this conduct of Cædmon, viz. that he was aſhamed to diſcover his ignorance of two ſuch common accompliſh- ments as thoſe of ſinging and playing on the harp [193]. Cædmon, before he became a monk, was a perſon in the very loweſt rank of life, being employed in keeping a gentleman's cattle, under the direction of an overſeer; and his com- panions ſeem to have been of the ſame humble ſtation, as there was but one harp in the com- pany. This ſhews how univerſal ſome ſkill in vocal and inſtrumental muſic was in the period we are now conſidering; and that theſe two kinds of muſic were inſeparable. For theſe people

[192] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 24.

[193] Id. ibid. a Smith, edit. p. 597. See Relics of ancient Poetry, vol. 1. p. 50.

ſeem

ſeem to have had no idea of ſinging without playing on the harp at the ſame time, or of playing on the harp without ſinging.

The harp the moſt admired muſical inſtrument.

It would be quite ſuperfluous to ſpend any time in proving, that the harp was the favourite muſical inſtrument of the Britons, Saxons, Danes, and indeed of all the nations of Europe, in the middle ages. This is evident from their laws and from every paſſage in their hiſtory, in which there is the leaſt alluſion to muſic. By the laws of Wales, a harp was one of the three things that were neceſſary to conſtitute a gentleman, i. e. a freeman; and none could pretend to that character who had not one of theſe favourite inſtruments, or could not play upon it [194]. By the ſame laws, to prevent ſlaves from pretending to be gentlemen, it was expreſsly forbidden to teach, or to permit them to play upon the harp; and none but the king, the king's muſicians, and gentlemen, were allowed to have harps in their poſſeſſion [195]. A gentleman's harp was not liable to be ſeized for debt; becauſe the want of it would have degraded him from his rank, and reduced him to a ſlave. The harp was in no leſs eſtimation and univerſal uſe among the Saxons, Danes, and all the other northern nations, by whom it is ſuppoſed to have been invented [196]. Thoſe who played upon this inſtrument were declared gentlemen by law; their

194 Leges Wallicæ, p. 301. 195 Id. p. 415.
196 Hickeſii Gram. Franko. Theoteſca, p. 96.

perſons were eſteemed inviolable, and ſecured from injuries by very ſevere penalties; they were readily admitted into the higheſt company, and treated with diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect wherever they appeared [197].

Other muſical inſtruments.

Though the harp was the moſt common, it was far from being the only muſical inſtrument that was uſed by the Saxons, Danes, Welſh, and other inhabitants of this iſland, in this period. They had indeed a great variety, both of wind and ſtringed inſtruments, which are occaſionally mentioned by the writers of thoſe times, ſome of which are now unknown. "The inſtruments of "practical muſic (ſays Bede, in his treatiſe on "that ſubject) are either natural or artificial. "The natural inſtruments are the lungs, the "throat, the tongue, the palate, &c.; the arti-"ficial inſtruments are the organ, the violin, "the harp, the atola, the pſaltry, &c. &c. [198]." The trumpet, the tabor, the pipe, the flute, &c. are mentioned by the ſame venerable author in other parts of that tr atiſe; and we meet with the lute, the cymbal, the citola, the lyre, the ſiſtrum, the campanula, and ſeveral others, in the other writers of the middle ages [199]. It may be queſtioned, whether the organ mentioned by Bede was an inſtrument of the ſame kind with that which bears this name in modern times. Some are of opinion, that it was not, but rather

[197] Leges Angl. apud Lindenbrog. p. 485.
[198] Bedæ Opera, Coloniæ, 1612, p. 353.
[199] Du Cange Gloſſ. in voc.

an

an inſtrument compoſed of ſeveral reeds, and blown with the mouth [200]. But as there is ſufficient evidence, that organs blown with bellows, and of the ſame conſtruction with ours, were known in the Eaſt in the fourth century, it is not improbable that they had made their way into Britain about the end of the ſeventh or beginning of the eighth age, when Bede flouriſhed [201]. That organs were erected and uſed in ſome of the principal churches in England, in this period, we have the fulleſt evidence. The famous St. Dunſtan made a preſent of an organ with braſs pipes, to the abbey-church of Malmſbury, from his great veneration for the memory of St. Aldhelm, the founder of that church; and to this organ a plate of braſs was affixed, on which the following diſtich was engraved:

Organa do Sancto Præſul Dunſtanus Aldelmo,
Perdat hic æternum qui vult hinc tollere regnum [202].

The famous Ailwyn, alderman of all England, and founder of Ramſay abbey, expended no leſs than thirty pounds of Saxon money, equal in quantity of ſilver to ninety, and in efficacy to nine hundred pounds of our money, in building an organ, with braſs pipes, in the church of that abbey [203]. The people of North Wales had a muſical inſtrument, called, in their language, a *crwd*, and, in the barbarous Latin of thoſe times, *crotta*, which had ſix ſtrings of catgut, and very

200 Murat. Antiq. t. 2. p. 357.
201 Id. ibid. p. 358.
202 W. Malmſ. de Pontificibus, l. 5.
203 Hiſtor. Ramſienſ. c. 54.

much

much reſembled the modern violin [204]. It was uſual on ſolemn occaſions for a great number of ſingers, harpers, and players on other inſtruments, to ſing and play in concert; and from the above enumeration, which is far from being perfect, we may perceive that they had a ſufficient number of inſtruments to make abundance of noiſe.

Aſtoniſhing effects of muſic.

The moſt aſtoniſhing effects are aſcribed to the muſic, as well as to the poetry, of the preſent period; and theſe effects were probably owing to the natural and happy union of both thoſe pleaſing arts, rather than to the intrinſic excellence of either of them. Olaus Magnus relates the following ſtory as an example of the ſurpriſing power of poetry and muſic: "A cer- "tain famous ſcald and harper in the court of "king Eric the Good uſed to boaſt, that he "could raiſe and inflame the paſſions of the "human heart to any degree he pleaſed. The "king, partly by promiſes, and partly by "threats, prevailed upon the artiſt, much againſt "his inclination, to make the experiment on "him and his courtiers. The ſcald begun by "ſinging ſuch mournful ſtrains, and playing in "ſuch plaintive tones, that the whole company "were overwhelmed with ſorrow, and melted "into tears: by and by he ſung and played "ſuch joyous and exhilarating airs, that they "forgot their ſorrows, and began to laugh,

204 Diſſertatio de Bardis, p. 80.

"and

" and dance, and ſhout, and give every demon-
" ſtration of the moſt unbounded mirth: at laſt
" changing his ſubject and his tune, he poured
" forth ſuch loud, fierce, and angry ſounds,
" that they were ſeized with the moſt frantic
" rage, and would have fallen by mutual wounds,
" if the guards, at a ſignal given, had not
" ruſhed in and bound them; but, unhappily,
" before the king was overpowered, he killed
" no fewer than four of thoſe who endeavoured
" to apprehend him[205]." Venerable Bede, who was a philoſopher, as well as a poet and muſician, ſpeaks of the effects of muſic in his time, in more temperate ſtrains, and yet repreſents them as conſiderable. " Great is the utility of
" muſic, and its effects are admirable. It is
" indeed of all the arts the moſt laudable, plea-
" ſant, joyous, and amiable; and renders men
" brave, liberal, courteous, and agreeable, by
" its great power over their paſſions and affec-
" tions. How much, for example, doth mar-
" tial muſic rouſe the courage of combatants?
" and is it not obſerved, that the louder and
" more terrible the clangor is, the more fiercely
" doth the battle rage? Is it not muſic that
" purifies and delights the hearts of men, that
" diſpels their ſorrows, alleviates their cares,
" improves their joys, and revives them after
" their fatigues? Nay, is it not muſic that cures
" the headach, and ſome other diſeaſes, and

[205] Hiſt. Olai Magni, p. 586.

" promotes

" promotes the health of the body, as well as " the happineſs of the mind [206] ?" Can we reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the muſic of thoſe times was contemptible, when ſo wiſe and good a man as Bede, who was ſo well acquainted with it, aſcribes to it ſuch effects ?

Church-muſic.

After the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, they became acquainted with a new kind of muſic, to which they had formerly been ſtrangers. This was church-muſic; which, from a principle of piety, as well as from their natural taſte for the tuneful arts, they cultivated with uncommon ardour. To inſtruct them in that muſic, which was very different from their own, they procured the ableſt maſters from Rome, and ſent ſome of their moſt ingenious youth to that city for inſtruction. One of the moſt celebrated of theſe foreign teachers of church-muſic was John, the arch-chantor of St. Peter's at Rome, and abbot of St. Martin's in that city; who, at the requeſt of the famous Benedict Biſcop, founder of the monaſtery of Weremouth, was ſent over by pope Agatha, A. D. 678, to teach the monks of Weremouth, and the other Engliſh monks, the art of ſinging the public ſervices after the Roman manner. " This abbot John (ſays Bede, " who was then a young ſcholar in the monaſtery " of Weremouth) taught all the monks of our " monaſtery the art of ſinging; and all the " monks in the other monaſteries of Northum-

[206] Opera Bedæ, t. 1. p. 353.

" berland,

" berland, who had a taſte for muſic, came " thither, and put themſelves under his care. " Beſides this, he taught in many other places, " where he was invited, and alſo left directions " in writing for ſinging the ſervice of the whole " year, which are ſtill preſerved in our mo- " naſtery, and of which many copies are pub- " liſhed [207]." Church-muſic was one of the chief branches of learning taught in the college of Canterbury; and profeſſors of this muſic were ſent from thence into all other parts of England [208]. But thoſe who were deſirous of attaining to the higheſt degree of excellence in this kind of muſic, which was then one of the moſt admired accompliſhments of the clergy, and the moſt certain means of preferment in the church, travelled to Rome for their improvement in it, where it was taught in the moſt perfect manner [209].

207 Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 18. 208 Id. l. 5. c. 20.
209 Id. ibid.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VI.

The history of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449, to the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066.

COMMERCE is no less necessary to the prosperity of particular states and kingdoms, and of the world in general, than the circulation of the blood to the health of the human body. As soon as any society is formed, in any country, under any form of government, commerce begins its operations, and circulates the natural productions of the earth,—the various animals that are used for labour, food, or clothing,—together with all those commodities that are the effects of human art and industry, among the members of that society, for the good of the whole, and of

Importance of internal commerce.

of every individual. This may be called internal commerce; becauſe its effects and operations are confined within the limits of one particular ſtate and country. This internal commerce is always the firſt, and for ſome time the only commerce, that is carried on in the infancy of ſtates and kingdoms. It is alſo the moſt conſtant and permanent, and, like the circulation of the blood, is never interrupted a ſingle moment while the ſociety ſubſiſts. The home trade, or internal commerce of a kingdom, therefore, is an object of great importance to its proſperity, and merits the attention of the hiſtorian in every period.

And of foreign trade.

Though ſome countries are bleſſed with a more fertile ſoil and friendly climate, and abound more with the neceſſaries and comforts of life, than others, it may be affirmed with truth, that there is hardly any habitable country, that hath not a redundancy of ſome uſeful commodities, and a want of ſcarcity of others. This makes it natural for the inhabitants of every country to deſire to diſpoſe of their ſuperfluities to procure a ſupply of their neceſſities; which can only be accompliſhed by opening a commercial intercourſe with the inhabitants of other countries, who want what they can ſpare, and can ſpare what they want. Theſe mutual neceſſities of the inhabitants of different countries, ſtates, and kingdoms, by degrees overcome their mutual diſlikes and jealouſies, and give riſe to an interchange of commodities, which may be called *foreign commerce*. This foreign commerce, in any country, is

is at firſt but ſmall, extending only to contiguous ſtates and kingdoms; but when it proſpers, and is well conducted, it is gradually more and more enlarged, until it penetrates into the moſt diſtant regions, and brings home the productions of every climate. To attend, therefore, to the gradual increaſe, and various revolutions of the foreign trade of a commercial country, in the ſeveral periods of its hiſtory, is an object equally curious and important.

Recapitulation of the ſtate of commerce in the former period.

It hath been made appear, in the ſixth chapter of the firſt book of this work, that both the internal and foreign commerce of provincial Britain were in a very flouriſhing condition in the Roman times[1]. The natural productions and manufactures of each of the Roman provinces in this iſland had a free circulation into the other provinces, by means of coaſting veſſels, navigable rivers, and excellent highways. The ſuperfluous corn, cattle, minerals, and manufactures, of all theſe provinces, were exported into all parts of the Roman empire, where they were wanted, and valuable returns brought home, either in goods or caſh. It hath alſo been obſerved, that both the internal and foreign trade of provincial Britain began to decline very ſenſibly before the end of the preceding period, the former being much interrupted by the depredations of the Scots and Picts, and the latter by the piracies of the Franks and Saxons[2]. But by the final de-

[1] See book 1. c. 6.

[2] Id. ibid.

parture of the Romans out of this iſland, its internal commerce was reduced to the loweſt ebb, and its foreign trade almoſt quite annihilated [3]. Nor did either of theſe revive, in any remarkable degree, till after the eſtabliſhment of the Saxon heptarchy. For in that deplorable interval between the arrival of the Saxons and their eſtabliſhment war was almoſt the only trade of all the Britiſh nations. But as ſoon as the rage of thoſe long and bloody wars between the Britons and Saxons, began to abate, by the retreat of the former into Wales and Cornwall, and the eſtabliſhment of the latter in that part of Britain which was ſoon after called *England*, all thoſe nations began to pay greater attention to the arts of peace, and particularly to trade and commerce. From this æra, therefore, in the courſe of the ſixth century, we ſhall begin the annals of commerce in the preſent period.

Anglo-Saxons neglected maritime affairs.

There are few examples in hiſtory of ſo ſudden a change in the purſuits and employments of any people, as in thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons, after their arrival in this iſland. Before that time, the ſea was their favourite element, and navigation the art in which they moſt delighted and excelled. "The Saxons (ſays an author of "the fifth century) are not only well acquainted, "but perfectly familiar, with the arts of navi-"gation, and all the dangers of the ſea [4]." But

[3] See book 1. c. 6.

[4] Sidon. Apollin. l. 3. epiſt. 6.

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as ſoon as they began to form ſettlements in the pleaſant and fertile plains of Britain, they abandoned the ſea, and neglected maritime affairs for ſeveral centuries. This was partly owing to the long and obſtinate reſiſtance they met with from the Britons, which obliged them to employ all their forces at land, and to neglect the ſea; and partly to the fertility of their new ſettlements; which, furniſhing them with all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life of which they had any ideas, they remained contented at home, and no longer infeſted the narrow ſeas with their piratical expeditions. The fact, however, is undeniable, that the Anglo-Saxons, during their ſtruggle with the Britons, and for near two centuries after, had very few ſhips, and almoſt totally neglected maritime affairs. After their ſeveral armies landed in this iſland, we hear no more of their fleets, which they either deſtroyed, or ſuffered to rot in their harbours. In this period, therefore, and indeed during the whole continuance of the heptarchy, the Anglo-Saxons had very little commercial intercourſe with any of the countries on the continent; and that little was chiefly carried on by foreigners. Venerable Bede, who is our ſureſt guide in this dark interval, acquaints us, "That the city of London, the capital of "the little kingdom of Eſſex, was a famous "emporium (probably the only one then in "Britain), frequented by merchants of ſeveral "nations, who came to it both by ſea and land

"on account of trade[5]." This ſeems to intimate, that London was the great centre of the Britiſh commerce in thoſe times; to which the Anglo-Saxon merchants, from the different nations of the heptarchy, brought their goods by land, and there met with foreign merchants, who came thither by ſea to purchaſe theſe goods, either with money, or with other goods which they had brought from the continent. In this manner, the greateſt part of the little trade between England and the continent was carried on till about the middle of the eighth century.

Foreign trade revived by Offa king of Mercia.

Offa king of Mercia, who mounted that throne A. D. 755, ſeems to have been the firſt of our Anglo-Saxon princes who gave any great attention to trade and maritime affairs. This great prince encouraged his ſubjects to fit out ſhips, and carry their goods to the continent in Engliſh bottoms, with a view to raiſe a naval power for the protection of his dominions. The other petty princes of the heptarchy, dreading the power and ambition of Offa, applied to Charlemagne, the greateſt monarch who had reigned in Europe ſince the fall of the Roman empire, for his protection againſt their two powerful neighbour, of whom they made very bitter complaints. This occaſioned a violent miſunderſtanding between theſe two great princes, and very much interrupted the trade of England in its infancy. Charlemagne treated the Engliſh

[5] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 3.

merchants,

merchants, ſubjects of the king of Mercia, with great ſeverity, and even denied them admiſſion into his ports; which provoked Offa, who was a prince of a high ſpirit, to treat the emperor's ſubjects in the ſame manner in England. "I "know not (ſays the famous Alcuinus in one of "his letters) what will become of us in this "country; for an unhappy contention, fomented "by the malice of the devil, hath lately ariſen "between Charlemagne and king Offa, and "hath proceeded ſo far, that a ſtop is put to "all commerce between their dominions. There "is a report, that I am to be ſent abroad to "negociate a peace[6]." This report proved true. Alcuinus was ſent abroad; and conducted his negociation with ſo much addreſs, that he not only concluded a commercial treaty between Offa and Charlemagne, but became one of the greateſt favourites of that mighty monarch.

Singular kind of ſmuggling.

There is an article in this ancient commercial treaty, which informs us of a very ſingular kind of ſmuggling that was carried on by the Engliſh merchants of thoſe times. The emperor Charlemagne had impoſed certain cuſtoms or duties on all kinds of merchandiſe imported into his dominions, and appointed officers in all his ports for collecting theſe cuſtoms. Some Engliſh merchants, in order to elude the payment of theſe duties, put on the habits of pilgrims, and pretended that they were travelling to Rome, or

[6] W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 4. p. 17.

ſome other place, on a religious account, and that the bales which they carried with them contained nothing but proviſions and neceſſaries for their journey, which were exempted from paying any duty. But the collectors of the cuſtoms (a ſuſpicious unbelieving kind of men in all ages) often ſearched the parcels of theſe pretended palmers; and finding them to contain merchant-goods, either ſeized them, or impoſed a heavy fine upon their owners; which occaſioned loud complaints, and was one of the ſubjects of controverſy between the two princes; Offa inſiſting that the baggage of all his ſubjects who travelled through the emperor's dominions on pilgrimages, ſhould be allowed to paſs unſearched. Alcuinus was not able to carry this point; which, to ſay the truth, was not very reaſonable: but the following article was inſerted in the treaty, which ſufficiently ſecured all real pilgrims from injury: "All ſtrangers who paſs through our dominions "to viſit the threſholds of the bleſſed apoſtles, "for the love of God and the ſalvation of their "ſouls, ſhall be allowed to paſs without paying "any toll or duty; but ſuch as only put on the "habit of pilgrims, and under that purſue their "traffic and merchandiſe, muſt pay the legal "duties at the appointed places. It is alſo our "will, that all merchants ſhall enjoy the moſt "perfect ſecurity for their perſons and effects "under our protection, and according to our "command; and if any of them are oppreſſed or "injured, let them appeal to us or our judges,

" and they ſhall obtain the moſt ample ſatisfac-
" tion[7]." Such ſeems to have been the ſtate of the little trade between England and the continent in the times of the heptarchy; carried on chiefly by foreigners, and a few Engliſh ſubjects, who were rather pedlars than merchants, and not very famous either for their wealth or honeſty. So ſmall were the beginnings of the trade of England, which hath ſince ariſen to ſo great a height!

No commercial intercourſe between the Anglo-Saxons and Welſh.

The animoſities that ſubſiſted between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons, during their long and bloody wars, were too violent to admit of any trade, or the exchange of any thing, but blows and injuries. Even after theſe wars had ſubſided, by the ſettlement of the former in England, and the retreat of the latter into Wales, the intercourſe between them was rather hoſtile and predatory than commercial; for the Britons ſtill conſidering themſelves as the rightful owners of the fine countries from which they had been expelled, made frequent inroads into the Engliſh territories, and ſeized every thing they could lay their hands upon as their own property. Theſe predatory expeditions were ſo far from being conſidered by the Britons as having any thing ſhameful or unlawful in them, that they were eſteemed the moſt ſacred duties, and moſt honourable exploits, of their greateſt men; for which they were highly celebrated by their bards

[7] W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 4. p. 17.

who attended them[8]. "The royal bard ſhall "attend the king's domeſtics when they go out "to plunder the Engliſh, and ſhall ſing and "play before them for their encouragement. "If they meet with reſiſtance, and a battle "enſue, he ſhall ſing the ſong called the *old* "*Britiſh monarchy*." Many laws were made for regulating the diviſion of the booty taken in theſe expeditions, between the king, the great officers of his court, and all others concerned[9]. It is in vain to look for the peaceful and equitable tranſactions of commerce between nations who lived on this unfriendly footing; and on this footing the inhabitants of England and Wales lived till long after the concluſion of the heptarchy. The injuries which the unhappy Britons had ſuſtained were too great to be ſoon forgotten by their poſterity.

Commerce between the different ſtates of the heptarchy.

Though the Anglo-Saxons were divided into ſeveral petty ſtates and kingdoms in the times of the heptarchy, yet as they all ſpoke the ſame language, and were in reality the ſame people, we have no reaſon to doubt that the inhabitants of different ſtates traded ſometimes with each other, when theſe ſtates were not at open war. The people of ſome of theſe ſtates were addicted to agriculture, and thoſe of others to paſturage, which made a commercial intercourſe between them for their mutual benefit. But notwithſtanding this, it cannot be denied, that the

[8] Leges Wallicæ, p. 36. [9] Id. ibid.

political

political diviſions of the Anglo-Saxons into ſo many governments, muſt have been a great interruption to their internal commerce, by their national jealouſies and frequent wars. It is ſomething more than an illuſtration of this, that though the people of England and Scotland were as near, and almoſt as like to each other, before they were united into one kingdom, as they have been ſince; yet their commercial dealings were not near ſo great.

Reſtraints on trade.

The internal as well as the foreign commerce of the Anglo-Saxons in the times of the heptarchy was very trifling, and lay under manifold reſtraints. How great a reſtraint, for example, muſt the following law have been, that was made by Lothere king of Kent, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſeventh century? "If any of "the people of Kent buy any thing in the city "of London, he muſt have two or three honeſt "men, or the king's portreeve (who was the "chief magiſtrate of the city), preſent at the "bargain [10]." By the ſame Saxon laws, no man was allowed to buy any thing above the value of twenty pence, except within a town, and in the preſence of the chief magiſtrate, and other witneſſes [11]. The ſame reſtraints were laid upon bartering one commodity for another: "Let none exchange one thing for another, "except in the preſence of the ſheriff, the maſs-"prieſt, the lord of the manor, or ſome other

[10] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 9.

[11] Id. ibid.

"perſon

" perſon of undoubted veracity. If they do " otherwiſe, they ſhall pay a fine of thirty ſhil- " lings, beſides forfeiting the goods ſo exchanged " to the lord of the manor [12]." The deſign of theſe and ſeveral other troubleſome regulations was, to aſcertain the terms of all bargains, at a time when very few could write, that, if any diſpute aroſe, there might be ſufficient evidence to direct the judges in their determinations;— and alſo to prevent impoſitions of all kinds, and the ſale of faulty and of ſtolen goods; or in caſe of ſuch being ſold, that the innocent party might be indemnified, and the guilty puniſhed. Theſe regulations however muſt have been a great interruption to all commercial dealings; and clearly ſhew, that internal, as well as foreign trade, was then in a very low ſtate; and that the members of ſociety had little knowledge of buſi- neſs, or confidence in each other's honeſty. By the laws of Wales, another precaution was added, to prevent the poſſibility of impoſition, by fixing a certain legal price upon every commodity that could be the ſubject of commerce; and this is done in theſe laws, with a fullneſs of enumera- tion, in a degree of minuteneſs, that is truly curious and ſurpriſing [13]. For example, there is in theſe laws a whole ſection, and that none of the ſhorteſt, ſettling the prices of cats, from the moment of their birth through all the ſtages of

[12] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 9. [13] Leges Wallicæ, l. 3.

life,

life, according to their various properties [14]. It is true, theſe laws had another view beſides regulating the prices of theſe commodities in ſales; which was, to regulate the damages that were to be paid for them in caſe of their deſtruction. It muſt alſo have been a diſcouragement to internal commerce, that in thoſe times a certain proportion of the price of all commodities bought and ſold in each kingdom was payable to the king, when it was above twenty pence; and this was another reaſon why their laws required, that all bargains for things above that value, ſhould be made within the gates of the towns, and in the preſence of the ſheriff, or portreeve, who collected theſe duties. This cuſtom, like many others, the Anglo-Saxons adopted from the Romans; and it was continued from the beginning to the end of this period; of which it will be ſufficient to give one example. From Doomſday-book it appears that a certain proportion of the price of every thing bought and ſold within the borough of Lewes in Suſſex was to be paid to the portreeve, the one-half by the buyer, and the other by the ſeller; and particularly that the portreeve was to receive four-pence for every man that was ſold within that borough [15].

Inſtitution of fairs and markets.

As we have mentioned ſeveral laws and cuſtoms in this period, which had a tendency to cramp and reſtrain internal commerce, it is but

[14] Leges Walliceæ, p. 247, 248.

[15] Scriptores Saxon. a T. Gale edit. t. 1. p. 762.

juſt

juſt to take ſome notice of ſuch as were calculated to promote it. Of this kind the inſtitution of markets and fairs at certain ſtated times and places was certainly one of the moſt effectual, as it brought buyers and ſellers, and things to be bought and ſold, together. This inſtitution was not the invention of the Anglo-Saxons, but had been long eſtabliſhed in all the provinces of the Roman empire, and was wiſely continued by them, and by all the other barbarous nations who took poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces on the fall of that empire. All thoſe nations, however, regulated their fairs and markets according to their own cuſtoms and ideas. The appointment of the times and places of thoſe mercantile meetings was one of the royal prerogatives; and they were commonly appointed when and where there was a concourſe of people on ſome other account. This is the reaſon that the weekly markets in the former part of this period were commonly at churches (which were then chiefly in towns), and on Sundays, that the people might have an opportunity of procuring neceſſaries for the enſuing week, when they came together for the purpoſes of religion; and poſſibly in hopes that the churches would be better frequented on that account. But it was found that this unnatural mixture of ſecular and religious affairs was attended with manifold inconveniencies, and very hurtful to the intereſts of religion; and therefore many laws were made againſt holding markets

markets on Sundays [16]. It ſeems, however, to have been very difficult to change this cuſtom, which had been long eſtabliſhed, and was agreeable to many; for theſe laws were often repeated, and enforced by ſevere fines, beſides the forfeiture of all the goods expoſed to ſale. At length, though theſe weekly markets were ſtill kept near churches, the day was changed from Sunday to Saturday, that thoſe who came from a diſtance might have an opportunity of attending divine ſervice on the day after, if they pleaſed. This was a conſideration of importance, when churches, being few, were at a great diſtance from each other. Beſides theſe weekly markets, there were greater commercial meetings held at certain places, on fixed days of the year; which being well known, were much frequented. Theſe too had a very intimate connection with religion, being always held near ſome cathedral church or monaſtery, on the anniverſary of the dedication of the church, or on the feſtival of the ſaint to whom it was dedicated; which happened in this manner. When biſhops and abbots obſerved that great multitudes of people came from all places to celebrate the feſtivals of their patron ſaints, they applied to the crown for charters to hold fairs at thoſe times, for the accommodation of ſtrangers, and with a view to increaſe their own revenues by the tolls which their charters authoriſed them to levy at thoſe fairs [17]. This

[16] Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 377. 404. 450. 500. 518, &c.
[17] Murator. Antiq. t. 2. Diſſertat. 30. p. 862.

contri-

contributed alſo to increaſe the crowds at theſe feſtivals, ſome attending them with religious, and others with commercial views; and the greater theſe crowds were, it was thought the more honourable for the ſaint, and was certainly the more profitable for the clergy. Many precautions were taken to preſerve good order, and prevent theft and cheating, in theſe eccleſiaſtical fairs, ſome of them not a little ſingular. For example, when a fair was held within the precincts of a cathedral or monaſtery, it was not uncommon to oblige every man to take an oath at the gate before he was admitted, that he would neither lie, nor ſteal, nor cheat, while he continued in the fair [18]: an oath which we may preſume was not always ſtrictly kept! Theſe cuſtoms, ſo different from our own, may appear to us ridiculous; but they were very artful contrivances of the clergy of thoſe times, for raiſing the reputation and increaſing the revenues of their reſpective churches; and alſo profitable to the public, by promoting commerce. Many of theſe eccleſiaſtical fairs (as they may not improperly be called) are ſtill kept in all Popiſh countries; and many of our own are ſtill held on the ſame ſaint's days to whoſe honour they were originally inſtituted.

Eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh monarchy favourable to trade.

The eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh monarchy, by the reduction of all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, one after another, under the domi-

[18] Murator. Antiq. t. 2. Diſſertat. 30. p. 882.

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nion of one ſovereign, was an event highly favourable both to the internal and foreign trade of England. It was favourable to internal trade, by putting a period to thoſe internal wars which almoſt conſtantly raged between the petty ſtates of the heptarchy, and by rendering the communication between the ſeveral parts of England more ſecure and free. It was favourable to foreign commerce, by making the Engliſh monarchy a greater object to foreign merchants, and the Engliſh monarchs of greater conſideration in foreign countries. Not long after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, alliances and intermarriages took place between the royal families on the continent and the royal family of England; which opened a more free communication between this kingdom and the dominions of foreign princes. Edward the Elder, who was one of the firſt Engliſh monarchs, had four daughters married to the four greateſt princes then in Europe; and on occaſion of theſe marriages, many curious things were brought into England, where they had never before been ſeen, and other things were ſent out in return; which gave riſe to commercial intercourſe [19].

Invaſions of the Danes hurtful to trade.

The eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh monarchy would have been ſtill more beneficial to trade, if the advantages of it had not been balanced by the piracies of the Danes, and their deſcents upon the coaſts of England, which began about

[19] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 6.

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the ſame time. Theſe ferocious freebooters, who had never been heard of in England till near the end of the eighth century, became ſo formidable in the ninth, that they covered the narrow ſeas with their piratical fleets, and kept all the coaſts in continual alarms with their invaſions, which were as ſudden as they were deſtructive. In this period, therefore, when the Daniſh and Norwegian fleets rode triumphant at ſea, and ſeized every merchant-ſhip that fell in their way, and when their crews landed when and where they pleaſed, and plundered the coaſts and ſea-ports, there could be little foreign trade in England. This was the ſtate of things from A. D. 787, when the firſt fleet of Daniſh pirates plundered the coaſts of England, to A. D. 875, when Alfred the Great obtained the firſt naval victory over thoſe deſtructive rovers[20]. In this unhappy interval, the fatal conſequences of the long and imprudent neglect of maritime affairs were ſeverely felt by the Engliſh; who thereby not only loſt all the advantages of foreign trade, but ſuffered innumerable inſults and calamities from their cruel invaders. Sometimes, indeed, they defeated the Danes on ſhore, and obliged them to fly to their ſhips; but during that ſpace of eighty-eight years, they were never able to look them in the face at ſea; which rendered their victories by land of little value. For whenever the Danes met with a vigorous reſiſtance in one

[20] Chron. Saxon. p. 64. 83.

place

place, they retired to their ſhips, and flew like lightning to another, where the people were not ſo well prepared for their reception, and there took ample revenge for their former repulſe.

Naval power and foreign trade of England reſtored by Alfred the Great.

There can be no queſtion, that the firſt Engliſh monarchs, Egbert, Ethelwulph, and his three eldeſt ſons, who were all cruelly haraſſed by the continual invaſions of the Danes, were very ſenſible of the diſadvantages they laboured under, for want of a ſufficient fleet to meet their enemies at ſea, and prevent their landing; and that they were earneſtly deſirous of ſupplying that defect. But there is nothing in the world more difficult, than to reſtore a naval power when it is fallen into decay, in a country where there is little foreign trade, to furniſh ſhips, and to be a nurſery for ſeamen; and in the face of enemies who are maſters of the ſea. To an ordinary genius, this muſt appear impracticable. What admiration then is juſtly due to that extraordinary prince, who not only attempted, but accompliſhed, that difficult undertaking; who raiſed a mighty naval power almoſt out of nothing, revived foreign trade, and wreſted the dominion of the ſeas out of the hands of the inſulting Danes? This was the great Alfred, who preſents himſelf in ſo many amiable points of view, to one who ſtudies the Anglo-Saxon hiſtory, that it is impoſſible not to contract the fondeſt and moſt enthuſiaſtic admiration of his character. It is much to be lamented, that we have ſuch imperfect accounts of the means by which this great

prince accompliſhed the many wonders of his reign, and particularly of the methods by which he reſtored the naval power and foreign trade of England, when they were both annihilated. The few hiſtorians of thoſe times were wretched monks, who knew little of theſe matters, and thought it ſufficient to regiſter in their meagre chronicles, that ſuch and ſuch things were done, without acquainting us with the means by which they were accompliſhed. We muſt try, however, to make the beſt of the few imperfect hints which they have left us, and endeavour to ſet this important part of the naval and commercial hiſtory of England in as clear a light as poſſible.

Naval hiſtory of Alfred.

Nothing can more fully demonſtrate the low ſtate of the ſhipping and trade of England at the acceſſion of Alfred to the crown, than the feebleneſs of the firſt fleet with which he encountered his enemies at ſea. After four years preparation, he got together five or ſix ſmall veſſels, with which he put to ſea in perſon A. D. 875; and meeting with ſix ſail of Daniſh pirates, he boldly attacked them, took one, and put the reſt to flight[21]: a victory which though ſmall in itſelf, probably gave him no little joy, as it was gained on an element to which the Anglo-Saxons had long been ſtrangers. His misfortunes at land, which threatened the total ruin of himſelf and kingdom, obliged him to ſuſpend

21 Chron. Saxon, p. 83.

the

the proſecution of his deſign of raiſing a naval power for ſome time. But no ſooner had he retrieved his affairs by the great victory which he obtained over the Danes at Eddington A. D. 878, than he reſumed his former ſcheme, and purſued it with redoubled ardour: and the means he employed to accompliſh it were equally humane and wiſe. Inſtead of ſatisfying his revenge, by putting the remains of the Daniſh army to the ſword when they were in his power, he granted them an honourable capitulation, perſuaded their leaders to become Chriſtians, aſſigned them lands in Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, and made it their intereſt to defend that country which they came to plunder[22]. With the aſſiſtance of theſe Danes, who had many ſhips, and were excellent ſailors, he fitted out a powerful fleet, which Aſſerius tells us he manned with pirates, which was the name then commonly given to the Danes by all the other nations of Europe; and with this fleet he fought many battles againſt other Daniſh fleets with various ſucceſs[23]. There can be no doubt, that this wiſe prince put many of his own natural ſubjects on board that fleet, both to learn the arts of navigating and fighting ſhips, and to ſecure the fidelity of the Danes; of which he had good reaſon to be ſuſpicious. Still further to increaſe the number of his ſeamen, he invited all foreigners, particularly the people of Old Saxony and Frieſland, to enter

[22] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 4. [23] Aſſer. p 9.

into his ſervice, and gave them every poſſible encouragement [24]. As he well knew that a flouriſhing foreign trade was the beſt nurſery for ſeamen, and of great advantage to the kingdom, he excited his ſubjects to embark in it by various means, as particularly by lending them money and ſhips, and by others that will be hereafter mentioned [25]. By theſe, and probably by other methods which have not come to our knowledge, Alfred raiſed ſo great a naval power in a few years, that he was able to ſecure the coaſts of his kingdom, and protect the trade of his ſubjects.

Voyages for making diſcoveries.

In the midſt of all theſe, and many other cares, Alfred encouraged foreigners that were in his ſervice, and ſome of his own ſubjects, to undertake voyages for making diſcoveries, and opening new ſources of trade, both towards the north and ſouth; of which it will be proper to give ſome account. There is ſtill extant a very curious relation of one of theſe voyages undertaken by one Ochter, a Norwegian. This relation was given by the adventurer himſelf at his return, and written down from his mouth by king Alfred with his own hand. The ſtyle of this precious fragment of antiquity is remarkably ſimple, and it ſeems to have been deſigned only as a memorandum for the king's own private uſe. This ſimplicity of ſtyle is imitated in the following

24 Aſſer. p. 13.

25 Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, t. 1. p. 44.

tranſla-

tranſlation, from the original Saxon, of that part of it which it is thought neceſſary to lay before the reader.

Ochter's voyage.

" Ochter informed his lord Alfred the king, " that his habitation was to the north of all the " other Normans, in that country which is " waſhed on the north by the weſtern ocean. " He ſaid, that country ſtretched very far to- " wards the north, and was quite deſtitute of " inhabitants, except a few Finnians, who lived " in the winter by hunting, and in the ſummer " by fiſhing. He added, that he had conceived " a ſtrong deſire to examine how far that coun- " try extended towards the north, and whether " any people reſided beyond that deſert; and " with theſe views had ſailed directly northward, " keeping the deſert land on his right hand, and " the open ſea on the left, for three days, when " he was as far north as the whale-fiſhers uſed to " go. After that he ſailed other three days in " the ſame courſe, when he found the land " make a turn towards the eaſt; but whether " this was a great bay or not he could not cer- " tainly tell; this he knew, that he waited there " ſome time for a north-weſt wind; by which " he ſailed eaſtward four days near the ſhore. " Here again he waited for a north wind, be- " cauſe the land turned directly ſouthward, or " the ſea run into the land that way, he knew " not which; but he ſailed ſouthward as far as " he could ſail in five days cloſe by the coaſt, " when he came to the mouth of a great river,

" which run up far into the land. In this place " he put an end to his voyage, not daring to " ſail up that river, becauſe the country was well " inhabited on one ſide of it. This, he ſaid, " was the only well peopled country he had met " with after he had left his own home. For " during the whole voyage, the land on his " right hand was all a deſert, having in it only " a few wandering fiſhers, fowlers, and hunters, " who were all Finnians; on his left hand all was " open ſea.

Continued. " He ſaid further, That the Bearms told him, " their country was well inhabited; but he durſt " not go on ſhore. The land of the Tirfinnians " was almoſt a deſert, being inhabited only by " a few fiſhers, hawkers, and hunters. The " Bearms, he ſaid, told him many things both " about their own country and the neighbouring " countries; but whether theſe things were true or " not, he could not tell, becauſe he had not ſeen " them himſelf. He thought the Finnians and " the Bearms ſpoke nearly the ſame language.

Continued. " He ſaid he viſited theſe parts alſo with a " view of catching horſe-whales, which had " bones of very great value for their teeth; of " which he brought ſome to the king; that their " ſkins were good for making ropes for ſhips. " Theſe whales are much leſs than other whales, " being only five ells long. The beſt whales " were catched in his own country, of which " ſome were forty-eight, ſome fifty yards long.

" He

" He ſaid, that he was one of ſix who had killed " ſixty in two days.

" Ochter was a man rich in thoſe things which " were there eſteemed riches, viz. wild animals. " He had, when he came to the king, ſix hun- " dred rein-deer, all unbought. Among theſe " were ſix of a kind which the Finnians value " very highly, becauſe with them they catch " wild deer. He was one of the greateſt men " in that land, and yet he had only twenty " cows, twenty ſheep, and twenty ſwine. The " little land that he ploughed, he ploughed with " horſes. His chief revenues conſiſted in the " tributes which the Finnians or Laplanders " paid him; which were compoſed of deer-ſkins, " and birds feathers, and the bones of whales, " and ſhip ropes made of whales ſkins and ſeals " ſkins. Every man pays according to his cir- " cumſtances; the richeſt commonly paying fif- " teen martins ſkins, five of rein-deers, one of " bears, ten buſhels of feathers, one kirtle of " bears ſkins or otters ſkins, two ſhip-ropes, each " ſixty yards long, the one made of whales ſkins, " and the other of ſeals ſkins [26]."

Ochter's riches.

The reſt of this fragment contains a deſcription of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, which this adventurous navigator had viſited at the deſire of king Alfred; but muſt be omitted for the ſake of brevity. The river where Ochter terminated his voyage, and from whence he re-

Obſervations on Ochter's voyage.

26 Vita Ælfredi Magni, Append. vi. p. 205.

turned, muſt have been the Dwina, on the banks of which Archangel was long after built. The Bearms, with whom Ochter converſed, were the inhabitants of the country anciently called *Bearmland*, thought by ſome to be the country now called *Melepadia*, *Ingermania*, &c. but more probably the country on the eaſtern banks of the Dwina. How many reflections will this ſhort fragment ſuggeſt to every intelligent reader! and how much muſt he admire the genius of this great prince, who gained a more perfect knowledge of thoſe northern ſeas and lands, in that early period, when the art of navigation was ſo imperfect, than any other Engliſhman acquired for more than ſix hundred and fifty years after his death? For captain Richard Chancellar was the firſt European navigator who diſcovered the White ſea and the river Dwina, A. D. 1553, from the age of king Alfred[27]. Ochter, who performed this dangerous voyage, was probably one of thoſe Norwegian princes who were expelled their country about A. D. 870, by that great northern conqueror Harold Harfager, who reduced all Norway under his obedience.

Wulfſtan's voyage.

There is alſo extant a ſhort journal of another voyage, written by king Alfred from the mouth of one Wulfſtan, an Anglo-Saxon, whom he had ſent to explore the coaſts of the Baltic, and the ſeveral countries that are waſhed by that ſea; of which it may be proper to tranſlate a part.

[27] Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 386.

"Wulf-

" Wulfstan ſaid, that he ſailed from Haethby " (now Sleſwic), and in five days and five nights " continual ſailing arrived at Truſo. Weonad- " land was on his right hand; on his left was " Langaland, Zealand, Falſter, and Sconen. " All theſe countries belong to Denmark. Af- " terwards Burgendaland (perhaps Bornholm) " was on the left hand, which hath a king of " its own. After Burgendaland, was the coun- " try which is called *Blekinga*, and Meora (per- " haps Morby), and Ocland, and Gothland, on " the left hand, which belong to the Sweons " (Swedes); and Weonadland (ſo he calls the " whole coaſt of Germany waſhed by the Bal- " tic) was always on the right hand to the " mouth of the river Wiſle (the Viſtula). The " Wiſle is a very great river, on which are " Witland and Weonadland. Witland belongeth " to the Eſteons. The Wiſle hath its ſource in " Weonadland, and flows into the lake Eſt- " mere, which is fifteen miles broad. Then " cometh the Ilfing from the eaſt into Eſtmere, " on the bank of which Truſo ſtandeth. Both " the Ilfing and the Wiſle flow into the lake " Eſtmere, the former from the eaſt out of " Eaſtlandia, the latter from the weſt out of " Weonadland. Then the Ilfing loſeth its name, " and falleth out of the lake into the ſea, by a " north-weſt courſe, at a place called *Wiſlemouth*. " The Eaſtland is very extenſive, and hath many " towns, and in every town a king. It abounds " in honey and fiſh. The kings and rich men

 " drink

" drink mares milk," &c. The remainder of this fragment contains a very curious account of the manners and cuſtoms of the people of Eaſtland (now Poland), and in particular of the ceremonies at their funerals, which are ſingular enough; but too long, and too foreign to our preſent ſubject, to be here inſerted [28].

Deſigns of Alfred unknown.

It is impoſſible to diſcover, at this diſtance of time, whether Alfred's views in being at ſo much pains to gain a perfect knowledge of the ſeas and coaſts of Scandinavia, were purely commercial; or whether he had not formed in his own mind the deſign of a military expedition into thoſe countries, to retaliate on their reſtleſs inhabitants ſome of the injuries which they had ſo long inflicted on the Engliſh, and the other nations of Europe, almoſt with impunity. It would require a genius equal to Alfred's to conceive the great deſigns which he had formed, and of which his early death prevented the execution.

Alfred's diſcoveries in the eaſt.

This extraordinary prince did not confine his reſearches after the knowledge of diſtant countries to the cold uncomfortable regions of the north, though their inhabitants made then a more conſpicuous figure than they do at preſent; but he was at equal pains to open a communication with the warmer climes of Aſia: though our accounts of his efforts to this purpoſe are quite unſatisfactory. We know indeed

[28] See Vita Ælfredi, Append. p. 207.

that

that there were ſuch efforts made; but are left to gueſs how they were conducted. He kept a correſpondence with Abel patriarch of Jeruſalem, whoſe letters to Alfred, Aſſerius, his friend and confident, tells us, he had ſeen and read [29]. From this prelate he no doubt received many valuable communications concerning the ſtate of ſeveral countries of the eaſt; and it was probably from him that he had intelligence of the Chriſtians of St. Thomas ſettled at Meliapour, on the Coromandel coaſt in the Hither India, and of their diſtreſsful circumſtances. In whatever manner he received this information, he conceived the generous reſolution of ſending relief to thoſe Chriſtians, ſo far disjoined from all the reſt of the Chriſtian world; and at the ſame time of gaining ſome knowledge of thoſe remote regions. To execute this reſolution, he made choice of an Anglo-Saxon prieſt, named *Sighelm*; and he ſeems to have been very happy in his choice. "Sighelm, (ſays the beſt of our ancient hiſtorians) was ſent beyond ſea with the king's charity to the Chriſtians of St. Thomas in India, and executed that commiſſion with wonderful good fortune; which is ſtill the ſubject of univerſal admiration. For he really penetrated into India, and returning from thence, brought with him jewels of a new kind, with which that country very much abounds. Some of theſe jewels may ſtill be

[29] Aſſer. de Rebus geſtis Ælfredi, p. 17.

"ſeen

" ſeen among the treaſures of the church of " Shereburn, of which Sighelm was made bi- " ſhop, after his return from India [30]." What courſe this adventurous prieſt purſued in executing this difficult commiſſion, we are not informed; only we are told, that he went firſt to Rome; which makes it highly probable, that he embarked on board ſome Venetian ſhip for Alexandria in Egypt. For the Venetians carried on a trade with Alexandria from the very beginning of the ninth century, if not before [31]. From Alexandria Sighelm might travel over land to ſome port on the weſtern ſhore of the Red ſea, where he might again embark, and ſailing down that ſea, and paſſing the ſtreights of Babelmandel, he might croſs the Arabian ſea to the coaſt of Malabar; and ſailing along that coaſt, and doubling the cape, he would ſoon arrive at the place of his deſtination. This, however, is given only as conjecture, and not as hiſtory. There can be no doubt, that Sighelm gave an ample relation of his travels to his royal maſter at his return; and if that had been preſerved, it would now have been eſteemed more valuable than all the jewels he brought from India.

The art of ſhipbuilding improved by Alfred.

Beſides theſe attempts to diſcover unknown ſeas and countries, and thereby open new ſources of trade, Alfred promoted commerce in ſeveral

[30] W. Malmſ. de Geſtis Pontific. Anglor. l. 2. p. 141.
[31] Murator. Antiquitat. t. 2. p. 883.

other

other ways. He introduced new manufactures, which furniſhed many things for exportation, as well as for home conſumption. He repaired the ſea-ports, and particularly the city of London, the favourite ſeat of commerce in this iſland, which had been ruined by the Danes [32]. But the chief means by which he promoted foreign commerce was the great improvements which he made, by his inventive genius, in the art of ſhip-building. The ſhips uſed by the Danes, Saxons, and all the other nations of Europe at that time, were called *keels* or *cogs*; and were of a very clumſy form, ſhort, broad, and low; which made them very ſlow ſailers, and very hard to work [33]. Alfred obſerving theſe defects, gave directions to his workmen for building ſhips of a very different conſtruction; which are thus deſcribed in the Saxon Chronicle, the moſt authentic monument of thoſe times, from which all our ſubſequent hiſtorians have borrowed their accounts: "The ſame year (897) the Daniſh "pirates of Northumberland, and of Eaſt-"Anglia, plundered the coaſt of Weſſex in a "very grievous manner, eſpecially towards the "ſouth. They did this in ſhips that had been "built long before in the ancient form. Alfred, "to oppoſe theſe, commanded ſhips to be built "of a new conſtruction. They were about "twice the length of the former, and much "more lofty; which made them much ſwifter

[32] Aſſer. de Rebus geſtis Ælfredi, p. 15.
[33] W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 1.

"ſailers,

" failers, more ſteady in the water, and not ſo " apt to roll. Some of theſe new veſſels had " ſixty oars, and ſome even more [34]." From this deſcription, ſhort and imperfect as it is, we may perceive that this was a great improvement in naval architecture; and that the ſhips of this new conſtruction were not only more beautiful, but alſo more commodious, either for war or commerce, than the former. By their length and ſharpneſs, they ploughed the ſea with greater eaſe and celerity. By their altitude, when employed in commerce, they ſecured both men and goods more effectually from the waves; and when engaged in war, for which they were firſt invented, they were more difficult to board, and gave the combatants the great advantage of throwing their weapons from above on thoſe below them. They appear to have been a kind of gallies, or galliots, navigated with oars as well as ſails, that they might proſecute their voyage, or purſue their enemies, in a calm as well as on a wind. Of the ſize, capacity, and burden, of theſe ſhips, we can ſay nothing with certainty, but that they required ſixty or ſeventy ſailors to navigate them; which is a ſufficient evidence that they were not very ſmall [35].

The naval power and trade of England greatly increaſed by Alfred.

By theſe and the like means, this extraordinary prince raiſed the naval power and foreign commerce of England, from that ſtate of annihila-

[34] Chron. Saxon. p. 98.

[35] See Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 50, 51. Dr. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 1. p. 53.

tion

tion in which he found them at the beginning of his reign; and before the end of it, rendered them both much greater than ever they had been in any former period of the Saxon government. That the naval power of England was greater in his time than ever it had been before, is evident from the many victories which he obtained over the Danes at ſea, who till then had been conſidered as invincible on that element. That the foreign commerce of England was alſo greater, is no leſs evident from the ſuperior ſplendour of his court and the greater quantities of caſh, and of foreign commodities, that were then in England; ſome of them the produce of very diſtant countries, which could only be procured by commerce[36]. We have already heard of the precious ſtones brought from India; and Aſſerius tells us, that one morning, after Alfred had made him a grant of two abbeys, with all their furniture, he gave him a preſent of a very fine ſilk cloak, and of as much frankincenſe as a ſtrong man could carry, accompanied with this obliging expreſſion,—"That theſe were but "trifles in compariſon of what he deſigned to "give him[37]." This is a ſufficient proof that Alfred was poſſeſſed of conſiderable quantities of the moſt precious productions of the Eaſt, the happy effects of a flouriſhing trade.

As England had gained more by the life, ſo it ſuffered more by the death of Alfred, than by

The trade of England hurt by the death of Alfred.

36 Clarke on Coins, p. 290. n.

37 Aſſer. de Rebus geſtis Ælfredi. p. 15.

that

that of any other prince that had ever filled the throne; becauſe many great deſigns which he had formed for advancing the proſperity of his kingdom, and the felicity of his ſubjects, periſhed with him. If this prince performed ſo much in the midſt of the tumults of war, what would he not have accompliſhed if his life had been prolonged, after he had triumphed over all his enemies, and brought his kingdom into a ſtate of perfect order and tranquillity? It was, however, ſo far happy, that ſome degree of the genius of Alfred deſcended to his ſon Edward, and his grandſon Athelſtan, who were educated under his eye, to ſay nothing of his daughter Ethefleda counteſs of Mercia, who inherited a ſtill greater portion of her father's ſpirit.

History of trade in the reign of Edward the Elder.

Edward the Elder, who mounted the throne in the firſt year of the tenth century, influenced by the precepts and example of his illuſtrious father, gave proper attention to the naval power and commerce of his kingdom. For though he was chiefly engaged, during his whole reign, in reducing the turbulent Danes of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland to a more perfect ſubjection, and in fortifying many towns and caſtles for the internal ſecurity of the country, he conſtantly kept up a fleet of a hundred ſhips, with which he protected the trade of his ſubjects, and maintained the dominion of the ſea [38].

[38] Chron. Saxon. p. 102.

Athelſtan

Athelſtan, the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Edward, was at much greater pains to increaſe the naval power and commerce of England than his father had been. This wiſe prince, ſenſible of the great advantages of foreign trade, encouraged his ſubjects to engage in it, by making it the road to honour as well as wealth. For by one of his laws it was enacted,—"If a mariner or mer-"chant ſo proſper as to make three voyages over "the high ſeas, with a ſhip and cargo of his "own, he ſhall be advanced to the honour and "dignity of a thane [39]." This excellent law, which diſcovers an equal knowledge of human nature and of the true intereſt of England, muſt have been productive of very great effects, though the particulars are not preſerved in the ſcanty annals of thoſe times. Athelſtan, ſtill further to facilitate and encourage commerce, eſtabliſhed a mint, or mints, in every town in England that had any conſiderable foreign trade, that the merchants might have an opportunity of converting the bullion that they brought home for their goods into current coin, without much expence or trouble. Theſe towns were, London, Canterbury, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Exeter, Lewes, Haſtings, Chicheſter, Southampton, Werham, and Shafteſbury [40]. Theſe and other wiſe regulations excited ſuch a ſpirit for trade, and ſo much increaſed the ſhipping and ſeamen of England, that Athelſtan maintained the dominion of

Trade promoted by king Athelſtan.

[39] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 71. [40] Id. p. 59.

the ſea, and obliged the Daniſh and Norwegian princes to court his friendſhip. "All Europe "(ſays William of Malmſbury) proclaimed his "praiſes, and extolled his virtues to the ſkies. "Happy did thoſe foreign princes think themſelves, and not without reaſon, who could "gain his friendſhip, either by preſents or alliances. Harold king of Norway ſent him a "fine ſhip, with a gilded ſtern and purple ſails, "ſurrounded and defended on all ſides with a "row of gilded ſhields[41]." Nothing but a flouriſhing foreign trade, and a powerful navy, could have made a king of England to be ſo much reſpected and courted by the princes on the continent; eſpecially in thoſe times, when there were hardly any political connections between diſtant nations.

Hiſtory of trade and ſhipping in the reign of Edgar the Peaceable.

Though nothing ſeems to have been done in the ſhort reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwi, from A. D. 941 to A. D. 957, for the encouragement of commerce; yet the ſpirit that had been awakened continued to operate, and the naval power and trade of England to increaſe. This enabled Edgar the Peaceable, who ſucceeded his unfortunate brother Edwi, to raiſe a greater fleet, and make a more diſtinguiſhed figure at ſea, than any of his predeceſſors. This prince, however, was ſo great a favourite of the monks, the only hiſtorians of thoſe times, that every thing they ſay of him muſt be underſtood with caution;

[41] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 6.

and,

and, in particular, their accounts of the number of his ſhips are perfectly incredible, ſome making them 3000, ſome 3600, and ſome no fewer than 4000[42]. Theſe numbers are ſo extravagant, that it ſeems moſt probable, that the tranſcribers have added a cypher, and thereby made them ten times the real number. Is it poſſible to imagine, that a king of England, in the infancy of foreign trade, had three hundred thouſand ſeamen in his ſervice? and yet ſo many it would require to man a fleet of three thouſand ſhips, allowing only one hundred men to each ſhip, which is certainly a very moderate computation. The above conjecture concerning the tranſcribers is the more probable, that one of our ancient hiſtorians makes the number of king Edgar's ſhips only three hundred[43]. Even this was a great number, and ſhews the rapid increaſe of the Engliſh navy, from one hundred (the complement of it in the reign of Edward the Elder) to three hundred, in the ſhort ſpace of fifty years. This fleet king Edgar divided into three equal ſquadrons; one of which he ſtationed on the eaſt coaſt, another on the ſouth, and the third on the north, for the protection of theſe coaſts, and maintaining the dominion of the ſea. What our hiſtorians further add concerning his ſailing round the whole iſland of Britain every ſummer in theſe fleets, and viſiting in perſon every creek and

[42] Hoveden. p. 426. Flor. Wigorn. p. 607. Abbas Rieval. p. 360. Brompt.

[43] W. Thorn.

harbour, can hardly be ſtrictly true [44]. All that we can depend upon in this matter is, that by the gradual increaſe of trade, ſeamen, and ſhipping. Edgar had a greater fleet than any of his predeceſſors; which he kept in excellent order, and with which he effectually protected the coaſts of his kingdom and the commerce of his ſubjects. This is all an Engliſh monarch ought to wiſh; and ſhort of this he ought not to ſtop. Beſides the protection and encouragement that Edgar the Peaceable gave to foreign trade, he made ſeveral laws for regulating the internal commerce of his ſubjects. By one of theſe laws it was enacted, "That all the money coined in "the kingdom ſhould be of one kind; and that "no man ſhould refuſe it in payments; and that "the meaſures uſed at Wincheſter ſhould be "uſed over all the kingdom [45]:" A wiſe regulation, which probably never took effect. By another law it was appointed, that thirty-three honeſt men ſhould be choſen in large towns; and twelve in ſmall towns, to be witneſſes to all bargains within theſe towns; and that no man ſhould either buy or ſell any thing but before two or three of theſe ſworn witneſſes. When any member of a decennary or tithing went to a diſtant market, he was required, by another law, to acquaint the tithingman or burgholder what he deſigned to buy or ſell, and alſo to acquaint him at his return what he had bought or ſold [46]. All

44 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 7. 45 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 78.
46 Id. p. 80, 81.

theſe,

theſe, and ſeveral other troubleſome reſtrictions of the ſame kind, deſigned to prevent frauds, and the ſale of ſtolen goods, ſufficiently ſhew, that commercial tranſactions were but few in compariſon of what they are at preſent; and that little mutual confidence reigned among the members of ſociety.

History of trade and ſhipping in the reign of Ethelred the Unready.

The minorities of the two ſons of Edgar the Peaceable, and the weakneſs of Ethelred, the youngeſt of them, after he arrived at man's eſtate, were very fatal to the naval power, commerce, and proſperity of England; for thoſe who had the direction of affairs under theſe princes, obſerving the profound peace and ſecurity that the kingdom enjoyed, occaſioned by the vigour of the late government, imagined that a navy was become unneceſſary, and ſuffered their ſhips to rot in their harbours. It was not long before their ancient enemies the Danes received intelligence, and took advantage of this fatal error. At firſt, indeed, thoſe deſtructive rovers approached the coaſts of England with a kind of dread and diffidence, as afraid to rouſe a ſleeping lion; but finding the defenceleſs ſtate of theſe coaſts, they boldly poured upon them on all ſides, and ſpread deſolation and miſery from one end of the kingdom to the other. It is as unneceſſary as it would be unpleaſant, to give a minute detail of all the defeats, diſgraces, and miſeries, which the Engliſh ſuffered in the long unhappy reign of Ethelred the Unready; which were chiefly owing to their neglect of maritime

affairs, and the want of a ſufficient fleet to protect their trade and coaſts, and maintain the dominion of the ſurrounding ſeas [47]. After having often tried the ſhameful expedient of bribing their enemies, by great ſums of money, to deſiſt from their depredations; and finding that this, like throwing oil into a fire, inſtead of diminiſhing, increaſed their violence; they became ſenſible of their error in neglecting their fleet, the only impenetrable bulwark of their country. To correct this error, a law was made A. D. 1008, obliging the proprietors of every 310 hides of land to furniſh a ſhip for the royal navy [48]. In conſequence of this law, a very great fleet was raiſed of near eight hundred ſhips; which, ſays the Saxon Chronicle, was greater than any that had ever been ſeen in England in the reign of any former king [49]. This is a ſufficient proof, that the merchants and mariners of England, in the midſt of all the miſeries of their country, had not abandoned the ſea, or neglected foreign trade; for ſo great a fleet could not have been raiſed by any but a commercial people. Of this there are ſome other evidences. In this reign, ſeveral wiſe and humane laws were made for the ſecurity of the perſons, ſhips, and effects of merchants, when they were driven into an Engliſh harbour by ſtreſs of weather, or were wrecked upon the coaſt; which ſhow, that it was the intention of the legiſlators to encourage foreign

47 Chron. Saxon. p. 125—136. 48 Id. p. 136. 49 Id. ibid.

trade.

trade [50]. By other laws made in a great council, or wittenagemot, held at Wantage, the rates of the cuſtoms to be paid on the importation of various kinds of goods at the wharf of Billingſgate, in the port of London, were ſettled [51]. From theſe laws it alſo appears, that there was a ſociety or company of German merchants, called *the emperors men*, then reſiding in London, who were obliged to pay to the king for his protection, twice a-year (at Chriſtmas and Eaſter), two pieces of gray cloth, and one piece of brown cloth, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, and two caſks of wine [52]. This company was probably the ſame with that which was afterwards ſo well known by the name of the *Merchants of the Steelyard*. There is ſtill extant a kind of commercial treaty between king Ethelred and the princes of Wales, by which a court was conſtituted, conſiſting of ſix Engliſh law-men and ſix Welſh law-men (as they are called), who were to determine all diſputes that ſhould ariſe between the people of England and Wales [53].

Though the total ſubjection of the Engliſh to the Danes, A. D. 1017, was fatal to ſome noble families, and involved the Anglo-Saxon princes in great diſtreſs, it was, in ſome reſpects, ſalutary to the kingdom, and particularly to its commerce, by putting an end to thoſe bloody wars between

Hiſtory of trade in the reign of Canute the Great.

50 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 104.

51 Brompton, p. 887. Anderſon's Hiſt. Commerce, vol. 1. p. 52.

52 Id. Ibid. 53 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 125.

the two nations, which had raged about forty years with little intermiſſion. Canute the Great, being a wiſe as well as a warlike prince, endeavoured to gain the affections of his Engliſh ſubjects, by affording them the moſt effectual protection, and every encouragement in his power [54]. He ſent home to Denmark, as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety, the greateſt part of his Daniſh troops, that they might no longer be either a burden or terror to the Engliſh. He alſo diſmiſſed all his fleet, except forty ſhips, which he retained for ſome time to protect the trade and coaſts of England [55]. He employed that influence which his high reputation, his extenſive dominions, and his mighty power, gave him with foreign princes, in procuring favours and privileges from them for his trading ſubjects. When he was at Rome A. D. 1031, he negociated a commercial treaty in perſon with the emperor Conrad II. and Rodolph III. the laſt king of Arles; in which he obtained very extraordinary exemptions for the Engliſh merchants in the dominions of theſe princes. This we learn from his own letter which he ſent from Rome to the nobility of England. "I ſpoke with the emperor, the pope, "and all the princes whom I found here, about "the grievances of my ſubjects, Engliſh as well "as Danes; and inſiſted, that they ſhould be "more favourably treated in time to come, and "not ſo much vexed with tolls and exactions of

54 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 11. 55 Chron. Saxon. p. 151.

"various

"various kinds in their dominions. The em-
"peror, king Rodolph, and the other princes,
"complied with my remonſtrances, and con-
"ſented, that all my ſubjects, merchants, as
"well as thoſe who travelled on a religious
"account, ſhould meet with no interruption,
"but ſhould be protected without paying any
"toll[56]." Under the auſpices of this powerful prince, the trade of England flouriſhed greatly, and the Engliſh merchants, eſpecially thoſe of London, acquired a degree of weight and influence in the public councils of the kingdom, formerly unknown. This appeared in a ſtrong light, from the important part they acted in the very beginning of the next reign, as we learn from the beſt authority. "As ſoon as Canute
"was dead, a great aſſembly of the nobility met
"at Oxford, where were preſent earl Leofric,
"almoſt all the thanes to the north of the
"Thames, and the ſeamen of London, who
"choſe Harold to be king of all England[57]."
Theſe ſeamen of London, who were members of this wittenagemot, or great council, were probably ſuch merchants of that city as had made three voyages beyond ſeas in ſhips of their own, and had thereby acquired a legal title to the dignity of thanes. The tranquillity that England enjoyed after the acceſſion of the Daniſh princes was ſo great, that the royal navy was reduced by Canute to ſixteen ſhips; for the ſupport of which

[56] W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 11.

[57] Chron. Saxon. p. 154.

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an equitable and moderate tax was impoſed; and on this footing it continued during all the remainder of his reign, and the whole reign of his ſucceſſor Harold. Each mariner on board this fleet was allowed eight mancuſſes, and each commander twelve mancuſſes, a-year, for pay and proviſions; which was a very liberal allowance in thoſe times[58]. Hardicanute, the laſt of the Daniſh kings of England, kept a fleet of ſixty ſhips, and gave his ſeamen the ſame generous allowance; which rendered the tax impoſed for their ſupport ſo heavy, that it became the occaſion of much diſcontent and of ſome tumults[59]. The reſtoration of the Saxon line to the crown of England, in the perſon of Edward the Confeſſor, made no material change in the naval power or commerce of the kingdom; which were both in a flouriſhing ſtate at the concluſion of this period.

State of the ſhipping of England at the end of this period.

It is quite impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to diſcover the numbers or the tonnage of the ſhips belonging to England at the Norman conqueſt; but there is ſufficient evidence that they were both conſiderable. To lay no ſtreſs on the exaggerated accounts of the prodigious fleets of Edgar the Peaceable, that of king Ethelred, which was raiſed after the Engliſh had ſuffered many loſſes both by ſea and land, conſiſted of near eight hundred ſhips; beſides which, there

58 Chron. Saxon. p. 155. Flor. Wigorn. p. 623.
59 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 12.

were,

were, no doubt, many employed in trade at the ſame time. After this, the ſhipping of England continued to increaſe to the very concluſion of this period, when it is not improbable they might amount to two or three thouſand veſſels, from twenty to one hundred tons. From the repreſentation of many of theſe ſhips in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux, it appears, that they were a kind of gallies with one maſt, on which was ſpread one very large ſail, by means of a yard raiſed to near the top of it with pullies. Their ſhape was not inelegant, their ſtems adorned with the heads of men, lions, or other animals, which (if we may believe hiſtorians) were ſometimes gilded [60]. Though the following deſcription of the ſhips of that great fleet, with which king Canute invaded England, is evidently too poetical to be ſtrictly true, yet as it was compoſed by a cotemporary writer, who was probably an eye-witneſs of what he deſcribes, it merits ſome attention: "So great was the ſplendour and "beauty of the ſhips of his mighty fleet, that "they dazzled the eyes, and ſtruck terror into "the hearts of the beholders: for the rays of "the ſun reflected from the bright ſhields and "poliſhed arms of the ſoldiers, and the ſides of "the ſhips gilded with gold and ſilver, exhi-"bited a ſpectacle equally terrible and magni-"ficent. On the top of the maſt of every ſhip "was the gilded figure of ſome bird, which,

[60] Montfauçon Monumens Françoiſes, t. 1. p. 376. Memoires de l'Academie Royale, l. 12.

"turning

" turning on a ſpindle with the winds, diſco-
" vered from whence they blew. The ſtems of
" the ſhips were adorned with various figures
" caſt in metal, and gilded with gold and ſilver.
" On one you might behold the ſtatue of a man,
" with a countenance as fierce and menacing as
" if he had been alive; on another a moſt ter-
" rible golden lion; on a third a dragon of
" burniſhed braſs; and on a fourth a furious
" bull with gilded horns, in act to ruſh on the
" terrified ſpectators. In a word, the appear-
" ance of this fleet was at once ſo grand and
" formidable, that it filled all who ſaw it with
" dread and admiration of the prince to whom
" it belonged; and his enemies were more than
" half vanquiſhed by their eyes, before they
" came to blows[61]." If we could depend on the truth of this deſcription, we ſhould be inclined to think, that the Danes and Saxons had made much greater progreſs in ſeveral arts than is commonly imagined.

Engliſh exports in this period.

Though the merchant ſhips in this period were very ſmall and trifling in compariſon of thoſe at preſent uſed in foreign trade, they were ſufficient to export and import conſiderable quantities of goods. But of thoſe exports and imports we are not able to add much to the account contained in the ſecond volume of this work, to which we refer the reader[62].

[61] Encomium Emmæ, apud Duchen, p. 166.
[62] Vol. 2. c. 6. p. 202—205. 218—228.

Slaves

Slaves ſtill continued to form one of the moſt valuable articles of exportation from England in this period; and great numbers of unhappy men, women, and children, were carried out of this iſland, and, like cattle, expoſed to ſale in all the markets of Europe. It was the ſight of a number of Engliſh ſlaves expoſed in this manner in the market at Rome, that inſpired Gregory the Great with the reſolution of attempting the converſion of their countrymen to Chriſtianity. "As Gregory was one day paſſing through "the market-place, ſoon after a company of "foreign merchants had arrived, and ſet out the "various kinds of goods which they had brought "to ſell, he obſerved a number of young men, "of fair complexions, fine hair, and beautiful "faces, expoſed to ſale. Being ſtruck with their "appearance, he inquired from what country "they came; and was told, that they come "from the Iſle of Britain, and the kingdom of "Deira. He then aſked whether the inhabit-"ants of that country were Chriſtians or Pa-"gans? and being anſwered that they were Pa-"gans, he broke out into this exclamation,— "Wo is me, that men, ſo amiable in their ex-"ternal appearance, ſhould be deſtitute of the "grace of God in their ſouls! and immediately "applied to the pope (for it was before he was "pope himſelf), and earneſtly intreated him to "ſend miſſionaries into England, to attempt the "converſion of that country to Chriſtianity [63]." Slaves.

[63] Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 1.

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The mildeſt fate that thoſe unhappy perſons could expect, who were taken priſoners in the long wars between the Saxons and Britons, between the ſeveral kingdoms of the heptarchy, and between the Engliſh and Danes, was to be ſold as ſlaves; which furniſhed a conſtant and plentiful ſupply to thoſe merchants who were engaged in this diſgraceful traffic. Many of theſe ſlave-merchants were Jews, who found a good market for their Chriſtian ſlaves among the Saracens in Spain and Africa [64]. This occaſioned ſeveral laws and canons of the church to be made in England, and other countries, againſt ſelling Chriſtian ſlaves to Jews or Pagans [65].

Examples of the ſlave trade.

The exportation of ſlaves from ſome parts of England continued to the very end of this period. "Some young men (ſays William of "Malmeſbury) were exported from Northum-"berland to be ſold, according to a cuſtom "which ſeems to be natural to the people of "that country, of ſelling their neareſt relations "for their own advantage: a cuſtom which we "ſee them practiſe even in our own days [66]." The people of Briſtol ſeem to have been no leſs addicted to this ignominious branch of trade; of which we have the following curious account in the life of Wulfſtan, who was biſhop of Worceſter at the Norman conqueſt. "There is a "ſea-port town called *Briſtol*, oppoſite to Ire-"land, into which its inhabitants make fre-

64 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 883.

65 Johnſton's Canons, A. D. 740.

66 W. Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

" quent voyages on account of trade. Wulf-
" ſtan cured the people of this town of a moſt
" odious and inveterate cuſtom, which they de-
" rived from their anceſtors, of buying men and
" women in all parts of England, and export-
" ing them to Ireland for the ſake of gain.
" The young women they commonly got with
" child, and carried them to market in their
" pregnancy, that they might bring a better
" price. You might have ſeen, with ſorrow,
" long ranks of young perſons of both ſexes
" and of the greateſt beauty, tied together with
" ropes, and daily expoſed to ſale: nor were
" theſe men aſhamed, O horrid wickedneſs! to
" give up their neareſt relations, nay their own
" children, to ſlavery. Wulfstan, knowing the
" obſtinacy of theſe people, ſometimes ſtayed
" two months amongſt them, preaching every
" Lord's day; by which, in proceſs of time, he
" made ſo great an impreſſion upon their minds,
" that they abandoned that wicked trade, and ſet
" an example to all the reſt of England to do the
" ſame [67]."

Engliſh horſes, which were univerſally admired, made another valuable article of the exports of this period; but the following law of king Athelſtan's probably gave ſome check to that branch of trade: " No man ſhall export
" any horſes beyond ſeas, except ſuch as he
" deſigns to give in preſents [68]." We have no

Horſes, &c.

[67] Anglia Sacra, t. 2, p. 258. [68] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 52.

direct

direct evidence that corn was exported from England in this period, as it had been from provincial Britain in the Roman times; and when we reflect on the imperfect ſtate of agriculture among the Anglo-Saxons, we ſhall be inclined to think, that it was not, or at leaſt not with any conſtancy, or in any conſiderable quantities.

Imports. Our information concerning the different kinds of goods imported into England in this period (beſides thoſe mentioned in the ſecond volume of this work), is alſo very imperfect. Books, eſpecially on religious ſubjects, and for the uſe of churches, made no inconſiderable article of importation, as they bore a very high price, were much wanted, and much deſired [69]. The relics, pictures, and images of ſaints, which were objects of great veneration in thoſe dark ages, were imported in great quantities, and at a great expence; as alſo veſtments for the clergy, veils, altar-cloths, ſilver veſſels for the celebration of the ſacraments, and, in a word, all the different utenſils and ornaments of churches. This ſacred traffic was chiefly managed by prieſts, who were believed to be the beſt judges of thoſe commodities, ſome of which had little or no intrinſic value. The famous Benedict Biſcop, founder of the monaſtery of Weremouth, made ſeveral voyages in this trade, and brought home valuable cargoes of books, relics, pictures, ſtatues, veſſels, veſtments, &c. which he had purchaſed

[69] W. Malmſ. de Pontificibus, l. 5.

in

in France and Italy. He furniſhed and adorned his own monaſtery with ſome of theſe goods, and ſold the reſt to very great advantage[70]. It was the conſtant practice of the founders of churches and monaſteries, and of all other Engliſh prelates, who viſited foreign countries, to collect and import thoſe kinds of merchandiſe for the uſe of their own and other churches; and he who brought home the greateſt quantity of relics, made the moſt profitable voyage, and was eſteemed the greateſt ſaint. When the city of Venice firſt, and afterwards the cities of Piſa and Amalphi, became the repoſitories of the precious productions and manufactures of the Eaſt, theſe cities were viſited by Engliſh merchants, who imported from thence precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, ſilk, linen, ſpiceries, drugs, and other kinds of goods[71]. It was to theſe cities of Italy that thoſe voyages were made which raiſed the perſons who made them to the dignity of thanes. Wines were imported from Spain and France, cloths from Germany and Flanders, and furs, deer-ſkins, whale oil, ropes, &c. &c. from Scandinavia[72]. It is unneceſſary to make this enumeration more complete, as it ſufficiently appears already, "that the foreign trade of Eng-"land was ſo extenſive, even in this remote "period, as to furniſh ſuch of her inhabitants

70 Bedæ Hiſt. Abbat. Weremuth. paſſim.

71 Murator. Antiq. t. 2. p. 883.

72 Anderſon's Hiſt. Comm. vol. 1. p. 52. Vita Ælfridi, Append. 6.

" as could afford to pay for them, with a ſhare of " all the commodities that were then known in " any part of Europe."

Balance of trade in favour of England.

As we have no means of diſcovering the quantities of the goods exported and imported in this period, it is quite impoſſible to find out how the balance of trade ſtood between England and any foreign country. We have good reaſon, however, to believe, that upon the whole the balance was in favour of England; and that her foreign trade was really profitable, by bringing home caſh or bullion for the increaſe of the national treaſures, as well as goods for conſumption. If this had not been the caſe, it would have been impoſſible for England, without mines of gold or ſilver, to have ſupplied the great loſſes of caſh which ſhe ſuſtained,—by the depredations and exactions of the Danes,—by the tax of Peter-pence paid annually to Rome,—and by the many expenſive journies of her princes, prelates, and nobles, into foreign countries. Theſe continual drains, for which no returns were made, muſt have carried off all the money in the kingdom long before the end of this period, if freſh ſupplies had not been brought home by trade. But there is a ſtill ſtronger proof of this, ariſing from the conſiderable quantities of foreign coins, particularly gold coins, that were current in England in this period; which were no doubt brought home by the merchants as the balance of trade in favour of this country. Theſe coins were ſo plentiful,

tiful, that almoſt all great payments for eſtates, donations to churches, and valuable legacies, were made in them[73]. The conſiderable quantities of gold and ſilver that were made into plate, jewels, and trinkets of various kinds, afford a further evidence of the truth of what is above advanced[74]. Beſides, it is believed, that the quantity of money in England of our own coining gradually increaſed in the courſe of this period; which is one of the beſt evidences of a profitable foreign trade.

Hiſtory of coin or money.

To prevent that confuſion which is apt to ariſe from blending ſeveral ſubjects together, little hath yet been ſaid of coin or money, the great inſtrument of commerce, and one of the happieſt of human inventions.

Living money.

Before we proceed to give the hiſtory of money made of gold, ſilver, or other metals, it may be proper to take ſome notice of a ſingular kind of money, which is often mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon monuments of this period, by the name of *living money*[75]. This conſiſted of ſlaves, and cattle of all kinds, which had a certain value ſet upon them by law, at which they paſſed current in the payment of debts and the purchaſe of commodities of all kinds, and ſupplied the deficiency of money properly ſo called. Thus for example, when one perſon owed another a certain ſum of money, which he had not a ſufficient

[73] See Clarke on Coins, p. 273. [74] Id. p. 275, 276.
[75] Hiſt. Elienſ. apud Gale, l. 1. c. 10.

quantity of coin to pay, he ſupplied that deficiency by giving a certain number of ſlaves, horſes, cows, or ſheep, at the rate ſet upon them by law when they paſſed for money, to make up the ſum[76]. It was alſo very common in thoſe times, when one man purchaſed an eſtate from another, to purchaſe all the living money upon it at the ſame time; i. e. to take all the ſlaves, horſes, and other animals upon it, at the rate ſtamped upon them by law when they were conſidered as money[77]. All kinds of mulcts impoſed by the ſtate, or penances by the church, might have been paid either in dead or living money, as was moſt convenient; with this ſingle exception, that the church, deſigning to diſcourage ſlavery, refuſed to accept of ſlaves as money in the payment of penances[78]. In thoſe parts of Britain where coins were very ſcarce, almoſt all debts were paid, and purchaſes made, with living money. This was ſo much the caſe, both in Scotland and Wales, that it hath been very much doubted, whether there were any coins ſtruck in either of thoſe countries in this period[79]. This much at leaſt is certain, that no coins of any of the Scotch or Welſh princes who flouriſhed in this period have been found: a ſufficient proof, that if there ever were any ſuch coins, they were very ſcarce. To ſupply this

76 Hiſt. Elienſ. apud Gale, l. 1. c. 23. 77 Id. ibid. c. 11.

78 Johnſon's Canons, A.D. 877. Can. 7.

79 Anderſoni Diplomata Scotiæ, præfat. p. 57. Camden's Remains, p. 181.

defect,

defect, an exact value was set upon all animals by law, according to which they were to be received in all payments, and by which they became living money [80]. This seems to have been a kind of intermediate step between mere barter, and the universal use of coin.

History of coin.

It is now time to enter upon a short deduction of the state of coin in Great Britain, its weights, denominations, and other circumstances, from the beginning to the end of this period: an intricate perplexing subject, in which, after all the labours of many learned and ingenious men, some things are dark and doubtful, and on which it is no shame to fail of giving entire satisfaction.

State of coin from the departure of the Romans to the establishment of the Saxons.

It hath been already proved, that provincial Britain was very rich in money in the flourishing times of the Roman government, and that much of it was carried away by the Romans at their departure [81]. But though this was true, it is probable, or rather certain, that considerable sums of Roman money were left behind, in the hands of the provincial Britons, and of those Romans who chose to remain in Britain, rather than abandon their houses and estates. This made provincial Britain, after all the losses it had sustained by the departure of the Romans, and the depredations of the Scots and Picts, a valuable prize, on account of its cash, as well

[80] Vide Leges Wallicæ, l. 3. c. 5. p. 230—257.

[81] See vol. 2. p. 258.

as of the verdure of its plains; and the former had probably as great charms in the eyes of the Saxons as the latter. For thoſe adventurers, at their arrival in this iſland, were far from being ignorant of the uſe, or indifferent about the poſſeſſion of money: on the contrary, the acquiſition of it had been one of the chief objects of thoſe piratical expeditions to which they had been long accuſtomed [82]. As ſoon as they began to quarrel with the Britons, they ſeized their caſh, as well as their lands and goods, converted it to their own uſe, and employed it in commerce. The current coin of England, therefore, in the former part of this period, was partly Roman money, which the ſeveral armies of Saxon adventurers had taken from the unhappy Britons, and partly German money, which they had brought with them from the continent. For as thoſe armies came into this iſland with a deſign to ſettle in it, and brought their wives and children with them, we may be certain that they did not leave their caſh behind them.

The firſt Saxon coins.

It is impoſſible to diſcover when the princes of the ſeveral Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the heptarchy began to coin money of their own; though it is highly probable they exerciſed this prerogative of royalty ſoon after they aſſumed the name of kings. In the moſt ancient of their laws, which are thoſe of Ethelbright, who was king of Kent from A. D. 561 to A. D. 616, all the

[82] Bartholin. de Cauſis Contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, p. 449.

mulcts

mulcts are eſtimated in ſhillings, which were Saxon coins or denominations of money [83]: A proof that this money was become the current coin of the kingdom before that period. It is true indeed, that the oldeſt Anglo-Saxon coin yet diſcovered (except one of Ethelbright's which Camden ſays he had ſeen) is one of Edwin's, who was king of Northumberland from A. D. 617 to A. D. 633; and it is even far from being certain that this coin belonged to Edwin. But this is no evidence that there were not many pieces coined by the more ancient kings of that and of the other kingdoms [84].

Diſtinction between real and nominal money.

When the precious metals of gold and ſilver were firſt employed as the great inſtruments of commerce, and the repreſentatives of all commodities, they were paid by weight, without any impreſſion; and even after pieces of theſe metals began to be ſtamped or coined, theſe pieces were ſtill certain well-known weights of the country where they were coined; the ſmaller coins being commonly regular ſubdiviſions of the greater, as halfs, fourths, &c. But as it would have been inconvenient, on many accounts, to have ſtamped very large pieces of gold and ſilver, or, in other words, to have made very large unportable coins, it became uſual to make a certain fixed number of coins out of a certain weight of metal, as a pound, an ounce, &c. and then to call that

83 Leges Saxon. p. 2. &c.

84 Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 181. Camd. Remains, p. 181.

number of coins by the name of that weight. This introduced the diſtinction between real coins, as crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, &c. and denominations of money, as pounds, marks, nobles, &c. each of the latter containing a certain fixed and well-known number of the former. Monies of both theſe kinds are frequently mentioned in the laws and hiſtories of the Anglo-Saxons; and therefore the moſt methodical and ſatisfactory way of treating this intricate ſubject ſeems to be this,—firſt to ſet down all the different kinds of money, whether real coins or mere denominations, that were known and uſed in England in this period, beginning with the higheſt and ending with the loweſt; and then to give ſome account of each of theſe kinds of money, in the ſame order.

Names of Anglo-Saxon money.

The different kinds of money that are mentioned in the laws and hiſtories of England in this period.

1. The pound,
2. The mark,
3. The mancus,
4. The ora,
5. The ſhilling,
6. The thrimſa,
7. The ſceata,
8. The penny,
9. The halfling, or half-penny,
10. The feorthling,
11. The ſtica.

The pound.

The pound of money is very often mentioned in the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as well as in many paſſages of their hiſtory. Thus, by theſe laws, the king's weregeld was two hundred and forty pounds of ſilver, one half to be paid to the

public for the loſs of its ſovereign, and the other half to the royal family for the loſs of its head [85]. It is almoſt unneceſſary to take notice, that the Anglo-Saxon pound was not a real coin: for coins of ſuch weight would at any time be inconvenient; but when the precious metals were ſo ſcarce and valuable, would have been peculiarly improper. The pound was then, as it is at preſent, only a denomination of money; but with this remarkable difference, that it was then a juſt and real denomination, and implied what the word imports; whereas at preſent it is an arbitrary name given to a ſum of money that weighs only about one third of a pound. Whenever, therefore, we meet with the pound in the laws and hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, it ſignifies as many of their coins of any kind as were actually made out of a pound of metal, and, if thrown into the ſcale, would have weighed a pound. Their nummulary language in this particular was perfectly agreeable to truth, and conveyed the cleareſt ideas to their minds; becauſe they could not but know the weight of their own pound, and how many pieces of each kind of coin were made out of it. But we who live at ſo great a diſtance of time, and have ſuch imperfect monuments of thoſe ages, are not ſo well acquainted with thoſe two particulars; which hath been the occaſion of almoſt all the darkneſs and uncertainty in which this ſubject is involved. It will

[85] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 64.

be

be proper, therefore, before we proceed one ſtep further, to endeavour to diſcover, if poſſible, the real weight of the money-pound of the Anglo-Saxons.

Weight of the Saxon money-pound.

Weights and meaſures are among the firſt things that are adjuſted by the people of all countries, after their emerging from the ſavage ſtate, and beginning to have any commercial intercourſe among themſelves, or with the reſt of mankind: for till theſe are ſettled and underſtood, neither foreign nor domeſtic trade can be carried on with any tolerable degree of juſtice or exactneſs. We may be very certain, therefore, that the Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in this iſland, had their own weights and meaſures handed down to them from their anceſtors, and firmly eſtabliſhed by immemorial cuſtom. We may be no leſs certain, that they brought theſe their ancient national weights and meaſures with them, and that they and their poſterity continued to uſe them in their new ſettlements in this iſland, as they and their anceſtors had done in their old ones on the continent; for there is hardly any one thing of which nations are more tenacious than of their weights and meaſures. There is no probability, therefore, in the conjecture of ſome learned men,—that the Anglo-Saxons adopted the Roman weights and meaſures which they found in uſe among the provincial Britons, and laid their own aſide[86]. This was a compliment

[86] Gronov. de Pecun. Vet. p. 347. Hooper of Ancient Weights and Meaſures, p. 400.

they

they were by no means diſpoſed to pay, to a nation with whom they had no friendly intercourſe, and againſt whom they were animated with the moſt implacable hatred. Nor is this conjecture more agreeable to hiſtorical evidence than to probability. The late learned Mr. Folkes diſcovered, that the Tower-pound, which continued ſo long in uſe in the Engliſh mints, was the money-pound of the Anglo-Saxons. "It is reaſonable (ſays he) to think, that "William the Conqueror introduced no new "weight into his mints, but that the ſame "weight uſed there for ſome ages, and called "the pound of the Tower, was the old pound of "the Saxon moneyers before the conqueſt. "This pound was lighter than the Troy pound "by three quarters of an ounce Troy [87]." This eſtimate of the Tower or Saxon money-pound, is ſupported by the unqueſtionable evidence of a verdict remaining in the exchequer, dated October 30, A. D. 1527: "And whereas heretofore "the merchaunte paid for coinage of every "pound Towre of fyne gold, weighing xi oz. "quarter Troye, 11 s. vid. Now it is deter-"mined by the king's highneſs, and his ſaid "councille, that the foreſaid pound Towre "ſhall be no more uſed and occupied; but all "manner of gold and ſilver ſhall be wayed by "the pound Troye, which maketh xii oz. Troye, "which exceedeth the pound Towre in weight

[87] Tables of Engliſh Silver Coins, p. 1, 2.

"111 quar-

" 111 quarters of the oz.[88]" The old Tower or Saxon ounce, the twelfth part of the Tower or Saxon pound, as taken from the accounts in the exchequer A. D. 1527, was 450 Troy grains[89]. From the above account, it appears, that the Anglo-Saxon money-pound, with its ſubdiviſions of grains and ounces ſtood thus:

Troy grains.

450	ounce,	
5400	12	pound.

Mr. Folkes gives another eſtimate of the Saxon or Tower pound, taken from the chamber of accounts at Paris about Edward III's time, which is a very little different from that given above, making the Tower ounce 451.76 Troy grains[90]. But this difference is ſo trifling, being hardly thirteen grains in the pound, that it merits no attention.

There is one circumſtance that makes it highly probable, if not abſolutely certain, that the Anglo-Saxons brought this money-pound with them from the continent; which is this,—that it is the ſame with the German money-pound, to a degree of exactneſs that could not be owing to accident, but proves that they were derived from one origin, viz. the pound of their common

[88] Tables of Engliſh Silver Coins, p. 1, 2.
[89] Clarke on Coins, p. 24. [90] Id. ibid.

anceſtors

anceſtors the ancient Germans. The great reſemblance, or rather identity, of theſe pounds, will appear from the following table:

	Troy grains.
The Old Tower or Saxon ounce, -	450
The preſent Colonia ounce, -	451.38
The Standard Straſburgh ounce, -	451.38
The Tower or Saxon ounce in Edward III.'s time, - -	451.76

The learned Mr. Clarke (to whoſe curious reſearches I gratefully acknowledge I am much indebted) traces the origin of the Saxon money-pound much higher, and deduces it from the ancient Greek pound. But the ſhorteſt abridgment that could be given of that deduction, would be too long for this place[91]. It is ſufficient to obſerve upon the whole, that if the above account be juſt, "the money-pound of the "Anglo-Saxons was the denomination or name "of as many coins of any kind as were coined "out of a maſs of metal weighing 5400 Troy "grains." The names and numbers of theſe coins will afterwards appear; but it may not be improper to take notice at preſent, that out of every ſuch pound of ſilver were coined 240 ſilver pennies, each weighing $22\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains, twenty pennies out of every ounce. If the Saxons had ſuch a coin as a ſhilling (which it is highly probable they had), forty-eight of theſe ſhillings

[91] See Clarke on Coins, p. 26.

were

were coined out of every pound of ſilver, four out of every ounce; each ſhilling containing five pennies; and weighing 112½ Troy grains.

Another money-pound.

It muſt not be concealed, that ſome eminent writers on this ſubject have been of opinion, that the Anglo-Saxons had another money-pound of fifteen ounces[92]. This opinion is chiefly founded on the following law of king Athelſtan, who reigned in the former part of the tenth century: "A ceorl's weregeld, by the Mercian law, is "two hundred ſhillings; a thane's weregeld is "ſix times as much, or twelve hundred ſhil-"lings; the ſimple weregeld of a king is equal "to that of ſix thanes, or thirty thouſand ſceatas, "which make one hundred and twenty pounds. "The kingbote, which is to be paid to the "kingdom, is equal to the weregeld, which is to "be paid to the royal family[93]." From this law it appears, that at this time ſix times 1200 ſhillings, or 7200 ſhillings, were equal to 120 pounds; which they could not be, unleſs there were 60 ſhillings in the pound. Now if there had been only four of theſe ſhillings coined out of an ounce, it is certain that the pound, out of which ſixty of them were coined, muſt have contained 15 ounces. But the moſt probable account of this matter ſeems to be this: that about this time the weight and value of the

92 Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſtol. p. 111. Sir Andrew Fountaine, ibid. p. 165.

93 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 64.

ſhilling

ſhilling was diminiſhed one fifth part; and inſtead of containing five pennies, and weighing 112½ grains, it contained only four pennies, and weighed only 90 grains. This diminution of the ſhilling might be owing to a ſcarcity of ſilver, occaſioned by the depredations of the Danes, and exigencies of the ſtate, or to ſome other cauſe to us unknown. If this ſuppoſition be admitted, the monſtrous abſurdity of having two money-pounds, with their numerous ſubdiviſions, current in the ſame country at the ſame time (which would have introduced intolerable confuſion and perplexity into all money tranſactions), will be avoided: the pound will remain the ſame, conſiſting of 12 ounces, out of which were coined, for a time, ſixty ſhillings, each containing only four pennies, and weighing only 90 grains. This ſuppoſition is almoſt converted into a certainty, when we conſider, that all writers on this ſubject allow, that there never were either more or fewer than 240 pennies in the pound; and that this proportion between the pound and the penny was always obſerved in all the gradual diminutions of the pound, and is obſerved at this day: but if the ſhilling contained five pennies, when there were ſixty of them in the pound, as it certainly did when there were only forty-eight of them in the pound; in the former caſe, the pound of ſixty ſhillings muſt have contained 300 pennies, which it certainly never did. At what time this diminution of the weight and value of the ſhilling took place, and how

how long it continued, it is impoſſible to diſcover with preciſion; but there is ſufficient evidence, that when the tranquillity and proſperity of the kingdom was reſtored under the government of Canute the Great, the ſhilling was reſtored to its former weight and value. This appears from the following law of that prince: "He who vio-" lates the protection of a church of the higheſt " order, ſhall pay 5 pounds by the Engliſh law; " —of the ſecond order, 120 ſhillings;—of the " third order, 60 ſhillings;—of the loweſt order, " 30 ſhillings[94]." In this law the mulcts to be paid for violating the protection of churches, according to their dignity, ariſe in the ſame proportion from the loweſt to the higheſt; from which it follows, that as 30 ſhillings is the half of 60 ſhillings, and 60 ſhillings the half of 120 ſhillings; ſo 120 ſhillings is the half of five pounds. From this law, therefore, it is evident, that when it was made, there were 240 ſhillings in five pounds, or 48 ſhillings in one pound.

The real money-pound of the Saxons.

The above account of the Saxon money-pound is confirmed by the real weight of their pennies now remaining, which Mr. Folkes found to be at a medium 22½ Troy grains[95]. This made their ſhilling, containing five pennies, to weigh 112½ Troy grains, and their pound, containing 48 ſhillings, to weigh 5400 Troy grains; which are the exact number of grains in the Tower pound; which we may therefore conclude, was

[94] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 127.
[95] Tables of Ancient Coins, p. 5.

the

the Anglo-Saxon money-pound. This pound they probably brought with them from the continent, as it is the ſame with the Colonia and Straſburgh pounds; and it continued to be their only money-pound through the whole of this period, and even down to the reign of Henry VII. when it was changed for the Troy pound, which is 360 grains, or three fourths of a Troy ounce, heavier[96]. This ſmall difference between the Tower pound and the Troy pound is the reaſon that one pound of Anglo-Saxon money did not contain quite ſo much ſilver as three pounds of our preſent money, though in general calculations, where much exactneſs is not neceſſary, we have always ſtated them in that proportion. Here, however, it may be proper to ſtate the exact proportion; which is this:—"That one "Anglo-Saxon money-pound contained as much "ſilver as is now coined into £ 2 : 16 : 3 ſter-"ling."

The mercantile pound of the Anglo-Saxons.

It cannot be denied that the Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with a pound which contained 15 ounces, which they uſed on ſome occaſions, and for ſome purpoſes, though they did not uſe it in their mints. This pound is plainly mentioned in the following law of king Ethelred, preſerved by Brompton, which (as I ſuſpect) hath been the occaſion of many miſtakes: "I "command thoſe who have the keeping of the "ports, and the collecting of the cuſtoms on

[96] Clarke on Coins, p. 99.

" goods, that, under the pain of my diſplea-
" ſure, they collect my money by the pound of
" the market; and that each of theſe pounds be
" ſo regulated and ſtamped as to contain 15
" ounces[97]." It is evident, both from the words and the intention of this law, that the pound of 15 ounces which is mentioned in it, was not the money-pound, but the pound of the market, or the mercantile pound, by which the heavy goods of merchants were weighed when they were exported or imported, and according to which the king's cuſtoms payable upon theſe goods were to be rated. This law was probably procured by the people of London, who were great friends to that unhappy king, and afforded him protection in their city when he could not find it in any other part of his dominions. It was evidently intended to favour the merchants, and to ſecure them from the exactions of the cuſtomers. This diſtinction between the mercantile and the money-pound was not peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons, but was in uſe among the Greeks, Romans, and all other trading nations, both ancient and modern[98].

The mark. The mark, which is often mentioned in the laws and hiſtories of this period, was alſo a denomination of money, and not a real coin; and, next to the pound, it was the higheſt denomination then known in England. It was not ſo

97 Brompton inter decem Script. p. 899.
98 Clarke on Coins, p. 85.

properly

properly an Anglo-Saxon as an Anglo-Daniſh denomination, having been introduced by the Danes, when they obtained a legal ſettlement in this iſland, in the reign of Alfred the Great; for it appears for the firſt time in the articles of agreement between Alfred and Guthrum, the Daniſh king [99]. That the mark had its origin in Scandinavia, and was brought from thence both into France and England, is confirmed by two of the moſt learned antiquaries of the north [100].

Weight of the mark.

It would be quite improper to load the pages of a general hiſtory with a critical examination of the ſentiments of different writers concerning the weight and value of the mark. It was long imagined that the mark and the mancus (which will be by and by deſcribed) were the ſame. This opinion ſeems to have ariſen from the reſemblance of the two barbarous Latin words *marca* and *manca;* and was certainly a very great miſtake, and the ſource of much perplexity and confuſion. Without entering into any tedious inveſtigations, it ſeems to be moſt probable, upon the whole,—"That the mark bore the "ſame proportion to the pound, in the period "we are now examining, and in every ſucceed-"ing period, that it doth at preſent, viz. that it "was then, as it is now, two thirds of the "weight and value of the pound." If this con-

99 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 47.

100 Arngrim Jonas Crymogæa, l. 1. c. 8. Stiernhöok de Jure Sueonum, p. 113.

jecture (for I ſhall call it no more) is well founded, the Anglo-Daniſh mark in this period muſt have weighed 8 Tower ounces, or 3600 Troy grains, of gold or ſilver; the mark of ſilver muſt have been equal in value to 160 Saxon pennies, and to 32 of the larger Saxon ſhillings, of 5 pennies each, and to 40 of the ſmaller Saxon ſhillings, of 4 pennies each. It muſt alſo have been equal in weight of ſilver to £ 1 : 17 : 9 of our preſent money; which is exactly two thirds of £ 2 : 16 : 3, the weight in ſilver of the Saxon pound.

The mark brought from Scandinavia.

It was very eaſy for the Anglo-Saxons to diſcover this proportion between the Daniſh mark and their own pound; and when they had diſcovered it, nothing could be more reaſonable than to keep theſe two denominations of money in the ſame proportion to each other, in all their various changes, as the only means of preventing confuſion in their mercantile tranſactions. Nor is poſitive hiſtorical evidence wanting, that the Daniſh mark, when it was brought into England, was a weight of eight ounces, according to the above account. The Daniſh, Norwegian, and Icelandic mark (as we are told by Arngrim Jonas), weighed eight oræ or ounces of pure gold, or pure ſilver: and in the payment of taxes eight oræ were always paid for one mark [101]. According to Stiernhöok, this was alſo the weight of the ancient Swediſh mark: "The mark was

[101] Arngrim Jonas Crymogæa, l. 1. c. 8.

"the

" the moſt ancient, the moſt common, and the " largeſt denomination of money, among all the " nations of the North. Nor was it peculiar " to them, but was known and uſed by the peo- " ple of Holland, Germany, France, and Eng- " land. The ancient mark of all theſe nations " weighed eight ounces of pure gold, or pure " ſilver[102]." This was the mark that was brought into England by the Danes; and, after the acceſſion of the Daniſh princes to the throne, was eſtabliſhed by law; and the mulcts that were to be paid by certain criminals, which had formerly been rated in pounds, ſhillings, and pence, were rated in marks, and their ſubdiviſions. By one of theſe laws, the manbote of a villan or ſokeman was rated at 12 oræ or ounces of ſilver; and the manbote of a freeman (which was the double of the other) was rated at 3 marks[103]. From this law we learn, that there were 24 ounces of ſilver in 3 marks, and conſequently 8 ounces in 1 mark. This continued to be the weight of the money-mark in England as long as 12 ounces continued to be the weight of the money-pound[104].

Mercantile mark.

After the acceſſion of the Daniſh kings to the Engliſh throne, they introduced their commercial mark, as well as their money-mark; and all kinds of goods at the cuſtom-houſes, which had formerly been weighed by the Saxon commer-

[102] Stiernhöok de Jure Suconum, p. 133.
[103] Wilkins Leges Saxon. [104] Stow Chron. p. 287.

cial pound of fifteen ounces, were then weighed by the Daniſh commercial mark of twelve ounces. "In the reign of Canute the Great, there were "two marks, the money mark, and the mer- "cantile work. The money mark, by which "pure gold and pure ſilver were weighed, con- "tained eight ounces, and the mercantile mark, "by which all other kinds of goods were "weighed, contained twelve ounces[105]." The reader cannot fail to take notice, that the ſame proportion was ſtill obſerved between the Daniſh money mark and commercial mark, as between the Saxon money pound and commercial pound, &c. &c. the one was two-thirds of the other.

The mancus.

The mancus is another ſpecies of money that is often mentioned in the laws and hiſtories of the Anglo-Saxons, and of all the chief European nations, in the middle ages[106]. It hath been much diſputed, whether the mancus was a real coin, or only a denomination of money, like the pound and mark. Without giving a detail of the arguments on both ſides of this queſtion, which would be tedious, it ſeems to be moſt probable, that the mancus was a real gold coin; and that mancuſſes were coined by ſome of our Anglo-Saxon kings, as well as by the ſovereigns of ſeveral other nations of Europe, in the preſent period. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is directly contrary to the commonly-

[105] Reſenius ad Jus aulicum Canuti, p. 703.
[106] Du Cange Gloſſ. voc. Mancus.

received

received opinion that Henry III. was the firſt king of England who coined gold A. D. 1297 [107]. But this opinion, though it hath long and univerſally prevailed, is chiefly founded on the negative argument, "That no Engliſh gold coins "of greater antiquity have yet been found:" an argument very weak and inconcluſive, and now quite deſtroyed by the actual diſcovery of ſome Anglo-Saxon gold coins [108]. We have good reaſon, therefore, to believe the direct teſtimony of Aelfric, the grammarian, an Anglo-Saxon writer of eminent dignity and great learning; who expreſsly ſays,—"That though the "Romans had many different names for their "coins, the Engliſh had only three names for "theirs, viz. mancuſſes, ſhillings, and pen-"nies [109]." That the Saxons had ſeveral names of money, beſides theſe, as pounds and marks, we have already ſeen; theſe three, therefore, muſt have been the names of real coins, as diſtinguiſhed from mere denominations of money. But though we have ſufficient evidence in general, that gold coins, and particularly mancuſſes, were ſtruck by ſome of our Anglo-Saxon kings, we have no information by which of theſe kings in particular they were coined; becauſe there are none of thoſe ancient mancuſſes yet diſcovered.

[107] Clarke on Coins, p. 373.

[108] Mr. Pegge's Diſſertations on ſome Anglo-Saxon Remains.

[109] Aelfric Gram. Sax. p. 52. Append. Sommer's Saxon Diction.

Weight of the mancus.

We know with the greateſt certainty what was the value of the Saxon gold mancus, and may from thence diſcover very nearly what was its weight. The ſame archbiſhop Aelfric, commonly called *the Grammarian*, tells us, that there were five pennies in one ſhilling, and thirty pennies in one mancus [110]. If therefore, there was ſuch a coin as a ſilver mancus, which is not probable, it muſt have weighed 675 Troy grains, equal to ſix Saxon ſhillings, to 30 Saxon pennies, to the eighth part of a Tower pound, and to 7 ſhillings and a ſmall fraction of our preſent money. If a gold mancus was to be exchanged for ſilver, or the value of it paid in ſilver, 6 Saxon ſhillings, or 30 Saxon pennies, were to be given for it. If the value of any given weight of gold was to the value of an equal weight of ſilver, as 12 to 1, in this period, as is generally ſuppoſed, then the weight of the gold mancus muſt have been the twelfth part of 675 Troy grains, or 56 Troy grains, or the eighth part of a Tower ounce. This was exactly the weight of a very numerous ſet of gold coins, which were current in the middle ages, not only over all Europe, but in many parts of Aſia and Africa, though under different names. Theſe were the mancuſſes or ducats of Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and Holland, the ſultani of Conſtantinople and the Eaſt, the chequeens of Barbary, and the ſheriffs

[110] Aelfric Gram. p. 52.

riffs of Egypt, which were all of the ſame weight and value with the Anglo-Saxon mancus [111]. This identity of the gold coins of ſo many different nations is an indication, that there was ſome commercial intercourſe between them, and muſt have been a great conveniency to merchants.

The ora was the next ſpecies of money that is mentioned in the laws and hiſtories of the Anglo-Saxons; but whether it was a real coin, or only a denomination of money, ſtill remains doubtful. This, as well as the mark, was introduced by the Danes; and the ora was in reality a ſubdiviſion of the mark. "There were only two "ſubdiviſions (ſays Stiernhöok) of the mark, "viz. the half-mark, and the eighth part, "which was called the *ora*. Though this laſt "is at preſent unknown to the Engliſh, there "is ſufficient evidence, that it was in uſe amongſt "them in ancient times, being carried from "hence into their country by the Danes. The "weight of the ora, as I have already obſerved, "was one ounce, or the eighth part of a "mark [112]." Arngrim Jonas gives the ſame account of the origin, weight, or value of the ora [113]. If there was ſuch a ſilver coin, therefore, as the ora, it muſt have weighed one Tower ounce, or 450 Troy grains, equal to 4 of the larger Saxon ſhillings, and to 20 Saxon pennies, The ora.

[111] Clarke on Coins, p. 293.
[112] Stiernhöok de Jure Sueonum, p. 134.
[113] Crymogææ, l. 1. c. 8.

and

and to 4*s.* 8¼*d.* of our preſent money. If there was no ſuch coin as a ſilver ora, then they paid for every ora in an account, either 4 Saxon ſhillings, or 20 Saxon pennies. This continued to be the weight and value of the ora till after the concluſion of this period, as appears from many paſſages in Doomſday-book [114].

The Anglo Saxon ſhilling a real Coin.

There is hardly any ſpecies of money more frequently mentioned in the laws and hiſtories of the Anglo-Saxons than the ſhilling. It was in ſhillings that they eſtimated the mulcts and penalties inflicted by their laws on thoſe who were guilty of certain crimes; and in ſhillings they fixed the weregelds, or the prices of the lives and limbs of perſons of all ranks [115]. Payments, and the prices of commodities, were alſo generally rated in ſhillings. Notwithſtanding this, it was long the univerſal opinion of antiquaries and hiſtorians, that the Anglo-Saxon ſhilling was a mere denomination of money, and not a real coin [116]. This opinion, however, which is founded only on this, that none of theſe ſhillings have been yet diſcovered, is quite improbable, and contrary to the plaineſt teſtimony of ſeveral Anglo Saxon writers, who certainly knew their own coins. That of archbiſhop Aelfric, already quoted, is perfectly plain, and ought to be deciſive: "The Engliſh have "only three names for their coins, mancuſſes,

[114] Scriptores xv. a Galeo edit. p. 764, 765.
[115] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 45, 46.
[116] Chronicon Precioſum, p. 40.

"ſhil-

"ſhillings, and pennies." In the Saxon Bible, the Jewiſh ſhekels are ſometimes tranſlated by theſe two words, *ſilver ſhillings*, and ſometimes by the word *ſilverings*, and ſometimes by the word *ſhillings*; which plainly indicates, that there was ſuch a coin of ſilver as a ſhilling, which on ſome occaſions was, by way of eminence, called the *ſilvering*, as being the largeſt ſilver coin. The name of this coin, which in Saxon is ſpelled *ſcilling*, is evidently derived from *ſcilicus*, the name of a Roman coin of the ſame weight and value; in imitation of which the Saxon ſhilling was coined. The very change of the weight of the Saxon ſhilling from 48 out of the pound of ſilver to 60, already mentioned, is a proof that it was a real coin, ſometimes heavier and ſometimes lighter. But whoever deſires to ſee the arguments drawn out at full length in ſupport of this opinion, "That the "Saxon ſhilling was a real coin," muſt conſult the learned work quoted below [117].

Its weight and value.

There is no difficulty in diſcovering the weight and value of the Saxon ſhilling with the greateſt certainty and exactneſs. When 48 of theſe ſhillings were coined out of the Tower pound of ſilver, weighing 5400 Troy grains, each of them muſt have weighed $112\frac{1}{2}$ of theſe grains, equal to 5 Saxon pennies, of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains each, and to 1*s.* 2*d.* of our preſent money. When 60 of theſe ſhillings were coined out of a Tower pound

[117] Clarke on Coins, p. 205—229.

of

of ſilver, each of them muſt have weighed 90 Troy grains, equal to 4 Saxon pennies, and to 11½*d.* of our preſent money.

The thrimſa.

The thrimſa is another ſpecies of money which is ſometimes mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon laws, particularly in thoſe of Athelſtan: and hath greatly perplexed our antiquaries and hiſtorians, ſome of them making it equal in value to 3 Saxon ſhillings, and others equal only to 1 Saxon penny; while others frankly confeſs their ignorance of its value[118]. It appears, however, very evident, from an attentive examination of the ſeveral laws in which it occurs, that the thrimſa was (as its name imports) equal in value to three Saxon pennies. It ſeems to have been a real coin, contrived as the moſt convenient ſubdiviſion between the ſhilling and the penny. When the ſhilling contained 5 Saxon pennies, the thrimſa was three-fifths of it; and when the ſhilling contained 4 Saxon pennies, the thrimſa, which remained unaltered, was three-fourths of it. We have examples of both theſe proportions in the laws of king Athelſtan. In one of theſe laws, which was made in the beginning of his reign, when the ſhilling was at its primitive value of 5 pennies, 2000 thrimſas, the weregeld of a thane by the law of Eaſt-Anglia, are ſaid to be equal in value to 1200 ſhillings, the weregeld of a thane by the law of Mercia; from

[118] Spelmanni Gloſſ. in voc. Thrimſa. Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 44. Brady's Hiſt. p. 68. Chron. precioſum, p. 28.

whence

whence it appears, that the thrimſa was three-fifths of the ſhilling [119]. In another of theſe laws, which was made near the end of his reign, when the ſhilling was brought down in weight and value to 4 Saxon pennies, it is ſaid, that the weregeld of a ceorl, by the law of Eaſt-Anglia, was 266 thrimſas, which make 200 ſhillings, according to the Mercian law [120]. From this law it appears, that the proportion between the thrimſa and the ſhilling was changed, and that the former was three-fourths of the latter. According to the above account, the weight of the thrimſa muſt have been 67½ Troy grains, equal to 3 Saxon pennies, and to 8½*d.* of our preſent money; and that 80 thrimſas muſt have been coined out of a Tower pound of ſilver. The currency of the thrimſa never was univerſal; and it ſeems to have been coined only for a ſhort time, as it was found to be unneceſſary. This is the true reaſon why it is not mentioned among the names of the Anglo-Saxon coins by archbiſhop Aelfric, as it had fallen into diſuſe before his time [121].

The Anglo-Saxon penny.

There is no kind of money more frequently mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon laws than the pending, pening, peninga, or penny. This was by far the moſt common, though not (as our antiquaries long imagined) the only coin, that

[119] Somner. Gloſſ. in voc. Thrimſa. Lye's Dictionarium Saxonicum. [120] Wilkin's Leges Saxon. p. 71.

[121] Clarke on Coins, p. 229—236.

was

was ſtruck by the Engliſh princes of this period. The weight and value of the penny remained invariably the ſame through all the Saxon times, and are both perfectly well known. It was a ſmall ſilver coin, of which 240 were coined out of a Tower pound of that metal, each penny weighing 22½ Troy grains, equal in weight and value to one of our preſent ſilver three-pences, all but 1½ Troy grain. Any number of the other denominations of money or coins might have been paid in theſe pennies without a fraction, by giving 240 of them for every pound, 160 for every mark, 30 for every mancus, 20 for every ora, 5 for every larger ſhilling, 4 for every leſſer ſhilling, and 3 for every thrimſa. The far greateſt part of the current caſh of England in this period conſiſted of theſe ſmall ſilver pennies; which is the reaſon that ſo many of them are ſtill preſerved, when almoſt all the other Saxon coins are loſt. In that great ſcarcity of ſilver that prevailed over all Europe, from the fall of the Roman empire to the diſcovery of America, the penny was a very proper ſize for the moſt common current coin; becauſe it was not too large for ſmall payments, nor too ſmall, in ſufficient numbers, for the greateſt.

The ſceata. The ſceata, which is ſometimes mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon laws, was certainly a real coin, both becauſe its name properly ſignifies, a coin, or piece of money, and becauſe it was too ſmall for a mere denomination. The coin called *ſceatæ* doth not appear to have been always of the ſame weight

weight and value; but ſeems to have been generally one of the ſmalleſt of their current coins; which gave occaſion to that form of an oath, which every one who denied a debt in a court of juſtice was obliged to take,—"I ſwear "by the name of the living God, that I am not "indebted to N either ſhilling or ſceata, or "their worth;" i. e. I am not owing him either a great ſum, like a ſhilling, which was the largeſt ſilver coin, nor a ſmall ſum, like the ſceata, which was one of the ſmalleſt [122]. In the laws of Ethelbright, which are the moſt ancient of the Anglo-Saxon laws, the ſceata is often mentioned, and appears to have been a very ſmall coin, of which twenty were equal to a ſhilling; and conſequently it weighed only $5\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains [123]. But in the laws of king Athelſtan, which were made more than three centuries after the former, the ſceata is evidently the ſame coin with the Saxon penny. For the weregeld of a king, in one of theſe laws, is fixed at 30,000 ſceatas, which are ſaid to be equal to 120 Saxon pounds [124]. Now, 30,000 pennies are exactly equal to 125 Saxon pounds; which ſhews, that if this weregeld was paid, not in actual weight, but in ſuch a number of ſceatas or pennies, by tale, then an addition of five pounds was to be paid, to make up for the deficiency of weight occaſioned by the wear of theſe pennies. In general, therefore, we may conclude, that during

[122] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 54. [123] Id. p. 5, 6.
[124] Id. p. 64.

the

the greateſt part of this period, the ſceata and the penny ſignified the ſame coin; and this is no doubt the reaſon that archbiſhop Aelfric doth not mention the ſceata among the names of the Anglo-Saxon coins, becauſe it was the ſame with the penny [125].

The Anglo Saxon penny valuable.

Though the Saxon ſilver penny or ſceata was a ſmall coin, it was of conſiderable value, and would then have purchaſed as much proviſions, or goods of any kind, as five of our ſhillings will do at preſent. The price of the beſt ſheep in England, for example, was fixed by the laws of king Athelſtan, near the middle of the tenth century, at four of theſe pennies; for there were only four pennies in the ſhilling when that law was made [126]. By the ſame law, an ox was only valued at 30, a cow at 20, and a ſow at 10, of theſe pennies.

Halflings, feorthlings, and ſtycas.

As it would be inconvenient, at preſent, to have no ſmaller coins than crown pieces, ſo it would have been equally inconvenient, in the Saxon times, to have had no coins of leſs value than thoſe penny-pieces. To prevent this, they coined halflings, or halfpennies of ſilver, weighing 11 Troy grains, worth about three halfpence of our money; and feorthlings, or the fourth of a penny, weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains, worth about three farthings of our money. Both theſe coins are mentioned in the Saxon goſpels; which is a

125 Clarke on Coins, p. 428—430.
126 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 66.

ſufficient proof that they had ſuch coins when theſe goſpels were tranſlated. But, after all, when many things were ſo very cheap, it would ſtill have been inconvenient to have had no coin of leſs value than the ſilver farthing; and therefore they coined a braſs coin of the value of half a farthing of their money, and of a farthing and a half of ours. Theſe braſs coins, which were called *ſtycas*, are mntioned alſo in the Saxon goſpels; and a conſiderable number of them belonging to ſeveral Northumbrian kings, have been found, and publiſhed[127].

Having thus given an account of the weight and value of the ſeveral denominations of money, and real coins, that were in uſe among the Anglo-Saxons in the preſent period, it may not be improper to place the reſult of the whole under the eye of the reader in the following table, that the inſpection of it may enable him to diſcover, at one glance, the real weight and value of any ſum of money he happens to meet with in the Saxon hiſtory. Reſult of the above enumeration.

[127] Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 182.

Table of the names of the Anglo-Saxon denominations of money, and of real coins; with the weight of each of them in Troy grains, and value in the preſent money of Great Britain.

Names.	Troy grains.	Preſent value.			
		£.	s.	d.	q.
The pound, - -	5400	2	16	3	
The mark, - -	3600	1	17	9	
The mancus of gold, -	56		7	0	1
The mancus of ſilver, -	675		7	0	1
The ora, - - -	450		4	8	1
The greater ſhilling, -	112½		1	2	
The ſmaller ſhilling, -	90			11	1
The thrimſa, - -	67½			8	2
The penny and ſceata, -	22½			2	3
The halfling, - -	11			1	1½
The feorthling, - -	5½				3
The ſtyca, a braſs coin, -					1½

Foreign gold coins current in England.

Beſides their own coins, thoſe of all the other nations of Europe with whom they had any commerce, were current among the Anglo-Saxons in the preſent period. The gold coins that were current in England, and indeed over all Europe, for ſome ages before the Norman conqueſt, were of theſe three kinds:—1. The old Byzantine ſolidi, commonly called *Byzants*;—2. the moſt ancient frank ſolidi;—3. the leſſer frank ſolidi of twelve-pence[128]. Though the Byzants were coined at Conſtantinople, or Byzantium, from whence they derived their name, yet they were well known in England,

[128] Clarke on Coins, p. 246.

and

and great payments were often made in Byzantines. Thus the famous St. Dunſtan purchaſed the eſtate of Hindon in Middleſex of king Edgar, for 200 Byzantines [129]. Out of the Greek pound of gold (which was the ſame with the Tower pound) 72 Byzantines were coined, each weighing 73 Troy grains, and worth 40 Saxon pennies, 8 Saxon ſhillings, and 9 ſhillings and four-pence halfpenny of our preſent money [130]. Few coins ever had a longer or more univerſal currency than theſe Byzantines, having been current from the very beginning to the end of the Eaſtern empire not only in all its provinces, but alſo in all thoſe countries which had been provinces of the Weſtern empire, and amongſt others in Britain [131]. The ancient Frank ſolidus was the ſame in weight and value with the Saxon mancus already deſcribed. The leſſer Frank ſolidus was worth no more than twelve Saxon pennies, or two ſhillings and ten-pence of our preſent money [132]. It was from the uſe of this leſſer Frank ſolidus that the preſent diviſion of our money-pound into 20 ſhillings, each ſhilling containing 12 pence, was introduced. Beſides theſe gold coins, there were alſo ſome foreign ſilver coins current in England in this period; but a more minute enumeration is unneceſſary, and would be tedious.

129 Camden's Remains, p. 182.

130 Leges Salicæ, tit. 47. § 4. Cod. Theod. l. 12. tit. 7. Cod. Juſtin. l. 10. tit. 70. 131 Lindenbrog. Gloſſ. voce Solidus.

132 Clarke on Coins, p. 329.

Incrementum paid in the Saxon times.

Though coins may be of the legal weight when they are ſtruck, they are apt to loſe ſomething of that weight by long currency. To make up this deficiency of weight occaſioned by wearing, it was a cuſtom, probably a law, among the Anglo-Saxons, when they paid a ſum of money by tale, to pay one twenty-fourth part more than the nominal ſum. For example, though there were only 48 Saxon ſhillings coined out of a pound of ſilver, yet when a merchant paid a debt of one pound in ſhillings that had been ſome time in the circle, he paid 50 of theſe ſhillings inſtead of 48. This is the reaſon that the ſame mulct or fine that is called two pounds in one law, is called one hundred ſhillings in another; four additional ſhillings being paid to make up for the preſumed deficiency in weight[133]. When a debt of one pound was paid in pennies, which were by far the moſt common coins, 250 of theſe pennies were paid inſtead of 240; which were the real number coined out of a pound. Thus the were-geld of a king is declared to be 30,000 pennies, or 120 pounds; but 30,000 pennies are really 125 pounds; becauſe 5 pounds (or the twenty-fourth part of the whole ſum) were paid to make up the deficiency of weight in the current pennies[134]. When any commodities are exceedingly ſcarce and valuable, as gold and ſilver were in the ages we are now examining, men are very

[133] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 35. 38. [134] Id. p. 72.

anxious

anxious not to be defrauded of the ſmalleſt part of them to which they are entitled.

Fineneſs of the Saxon coins.

As the weight is one capital conſideration in the affair of coins; ſo their fineneſs, or the real proportion of pure gold, or pure ſilver, in them, is another. It was ſoon diſcovered, that a ſmall mixture of ſome baſer metal, commonly called *alloy* with gold and ſilver in coins, gave them an additional hardneſs, and made them more durable. This therefore was admitted; but the greateſt care was taken to aſcertain the proportion between the pure gold or ſilver and the alloy, with the moſt minute exactneſs. The ſtandard of the Anglo-Saxon money, as found by trials made upon their coins, was nine parts of pure ſilver, and one part of copper; and very ſevere penalties were inflicted by their laws on thoſe mint-maſters who made money of a baſer kind. By a law of Athelſtan, a monetary who coined money below the legal ſtandard, either in weight or fineneſs, was to have his right hand cut off, and nailed upon the door of his mint; but by a poſterior one of Ethelred, thoſe who were guilty of this crime were to be put to death [135]. All coins that were agreeable to the legal ſtandard in theſe two reſpects, of weight and fineneſs, were declared by law to be the current coins of the kingdom; and none were permitted to refuſe them in payments.

Art of coining.

Though their weight and purity are the two capital conſiderations in the affair of coins; yet

[135] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 59—148.

the legends and impreſſes which they bear, and the degrees of art and elegance with which they are fabricated, merit ſome attention in every period from the antiquary and hiſtorian. The art of coining money was in a very imperfect ſtate among the Anglo-Saxons. This is evident from the inſpection of their ſilver pennies, or the plates of them, which have been publiſhed in the works quoted below [136]. Theſe pennies are very thin; and the relievo of the letters and figures upon them very low and faint. On one ſide they commonly bear the prince's head by whoſe authority they were coined, with his name and his title in Latin (REX), and in a few inſtances in Saxon (CYNING). The letters are chiefly Roman, with a mixture of Saxon, and for the moſt part very rudely formed. The reverſes are various; but many of them contain only the names of the mint-maſter, and of the city where they were coined. For the ſatisfaction of ſuch readers as have not an opportunity of viewing theſe coins, or the tables of them which have been publiſhed, two of the moſt ancient, and one of the moſt modern of them, are engraved on the plate of the map in the Appendix, Fig. 1, 2, 3.

Deſcription of Edwin's penny.

Fig. 1. is a penny of Edwin [137], the firſt Chriſtian king of Northumberland, and moſt probably the founder of the city of Edinburgh, who flouriſhed

[136] Camden Britan. vol. 1. Introduc. p. 165—203. Hickeſ. Theſaur. Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 161—182.

[137] This is controverted by Mr. Pegge, Diſſertation 2.

from

from A. D. 617 to A. D. 633. On one ſide is the king's head, crowned with the inſcription EDPIN. REX. A.; in which all the letters are Roman except the Saxon P (w). On the reverſe is a croſs in the centre (a proof that Edwin had embraced Chriſtianity when this coin was ſtruck), with this inſcription, SEFWEL ON EOFER; which ſignifies Sifwel (the name of the mint maſter) at York.

The ſecond is a penny of Adulf, who was king of the Eaſt-Angles A. D. 664. On one ſide is the king's head, with this inſcription, AUDULFIUS PRISIN. Several explanations have been given of the laſt of theſe words, but none of them are without difficulties[138]. On the reverſe is a croſs erected upon a globe, with a ſerpent hanging as lifeleſs on the tranverſe of the croſs, and this inſcription, VICTURIA ADULFO. Of Adulf's penny.

The laſt is a penny of king Harold, who fell in the battle of Haſtings, and was ſucceeded by William the Conqueror. On one ſide is a ſceptre and the king's head crowned, with HAROLD REX ANGL. On the reverſe the word PAX in the centre, and around it VLFGEAT ON GLE; which is Wlfgeat (the name of the mint-maſter) at Gloceſter. Of Harold's penny.

It is quite impoſſible to diſcover, with any degree of certainty, the quantity of current coin in England in this period. On ſome occaſions, very conſiderable ſums are mentioned. The Quantity of money in England.

[138] Clarke on Coins, p. 417.

ſmall kingdom of Kent is ſaid to have paid to Ina king of Weſſex, A. D. 694, no leſs than thirty thouſand pounds, equal in quantity of ſilver to £84,375 of our preſent money, and in value and efficacy to more than eight millions ſterling [139]. This ſum is ſo enormous for ſo ſmall a territory, that ſome miſtake muſt certainly have been committed by the tranſcribers of the Saxon chronicle; and therefore no inference can be drawn from this paſſage. If a hiſtorian may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that *punda* (pounds) had been inſerted by a miſtake inſtead of *peninga* (pennies), which was probably the true reading. For Ina's quarrel with the people of Kent was, that they had killed Mul, the brother of Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex, his immediate predeceſſor; and therefore all that he could demand from them, by the eſtabliſhed laws of the heptarchy, was the payment of the weregeld of a king, which was 30,000 pennies [140]. Even this ſum (£351 : 11 : 3 of our money), trifling as it may appear to us, would not be eaſily paid by the ſmall kingdom of Kent, after it had been three times plundered by the Weſt-Saxon armies in the ſpace of eight years. Though Alfred the Great was one of the richeſt of our Anglo-Saxon kings, he bequeathed no more by his laſt will than £500 to each of his two ſons, and £100 to each of his three daughters [141]. This was no more than £1406 : 5 : 0

[139] Chron. Saxon. p. 48. [140] Id. ibid.
[141] Teſtamentum Ælfredi, apud Aſſer. p. 23.

of

of our money to a king's ſon, and £ 281 : 5 : 0 to a king's daughter: a ſufficient proof of the great ſcarcity of money in England in the age of Alfred the Great. Nor was money more plentiful in France at that time than it was in England; for Charles the Bald king of France, who was cotemporary with Alfred, when he meditated an expedition into Italy A. D. 875, to ſeize the Imperial crown, could raiſe no more money in his whole kingdom than 10,000 marks, or £ 18,375 ſterling [142]. The caſh of England ſeems to have increaſed conſiderably in the courſe of the tenth century, in the reigns of Edward the Elder, Athelſtan, and Edgar the Peaceable, who were great encouragers of foreign trade. This enabled the Engliſh to pay the prodigious ſubſidies to the Danes in the unfortunate reign of Ethelred the Unready; which in twenty-three years, from A. D. 991 to A. D. 1014, amounted to no leſs than £ 167,000 of Saxon money, equal in quantity of ſilver to £ 469,687 : 10 : 0 ſterling [143]. It appears, however, that they were ſo much exhauſted and impoveriſhed by theſe payments, that they were obliged to ſubmit to the Daniſh yoke, as the only means of preſerving themſelves and their country from ruin. Upon the whole, we have good reaſon to believe, that there was not one fiftieth part of the caſh in England, at any one time, during this period which we are now de-

[142] Boulainvilliers, p. 114. [143] Spelman Gloſſ. voce Danegeld.

lineating,

lineating, that is in it at preſent; and that this obſervation might be extended to almoſt every other country in Europe.

Whether the Scots, Picts, and Britons coined money or not in this period.

As no coins of the kings of the Scots, Picts, or Welſh, who flouriſhed in this period, have been diſcovered, it hath been generally believed, that none of theſe princes coined any money. But this is very improbable on many accounts. The low countries of Scotland to the ſouth of the frith of Forth, had been occupied by a colony of Saxons under Octa and Ebeſſa in the fifth century, and became a part of the kingdom of Northumberland about the middle of the ſixth. In this ſtate theſe countries continued, both inhabited by Saxons and governed by Saxon princes, who coined money, to the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom about the beginning of the tenth century. Now it is hardly poſſible, that the Scots and Picts, who were ſuch near neighbours to the Saxons for ſo many ages, and had ſo much intercourſe with them, both of a friendly and hoſtile nature, could remain ignorant of the uſe of money, and the art of coining it. At leaſt, when the Scots kings obtained the dominion of the country between the Forth and Tweed, about the middle of the tenth century, they muſt have learned from their Saxon ſubjects the art of coining money, and muſt have exerciſed it as a part of their prerogative. This money we may be certain was not very plentiful, and therefore it hath totally diſappeared. It is ſtill more improbable, that the Britons, after they retired

retired into Wales, were ignorant of the uſe and art of coining money, when their anceſtors the provincial Britons were ſo well acquainted with both. It appears evidently from many of their laws, that the Welſh princes of this period did actually coin money. By one of theſe laws, the coining of money is declared to be one of the four unalienable prerogatives of the kings of Wales[144]: a ridiculous declaration, if it was known that no money was ever coined in Wales! The kings of England impoſed a certain tribute on the kings of Wales, part of which was to be paid in money; which they never would have done, if they had known that theſe princes had no money of their own. The ſalaries of the great officers in the courts of the kings of Wales were paid in money; and the prices of all commodities were rated by the laws of Wales in money. Nay, in theſe laws, both gold and ſilver coins are directly mentioned; which is certainly a much ſtronger evidence that there were ſuch coins, than the bare diſappearance of them is that they never exiſted[145]. But though we have good reaſon to believe, from theſe and many other teſtimonies which might be produced from their laws and hiſtory, that the Welſh princes of this period did coin money; yet we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that their coins were very plentiful, when thoſe of their richer neighbours, the Anglo-Saxons, were ſo ſcarce. The ſmallneſs

144 Leges Wallicæ, p. 71. 145 Id. p. 395.

of

of the number of theſe Welſh coins, the injuries of time, wars, and revolutions, and the long ſubjection of that country to the crown of England, are the true reaſons why all theſe coins have diſappeared; though it is not impoſſible that ſome of them may be yet diſcovered.

Prices of commodities.

When money was ſo ſcarce in all parts of Britain, England not excepted, we may be certain that the prices of commodities in general, and particularly of ſuch as were plentiful, would be very low. Of this we have the cleareſt poſitive evidence, in the few remaining monuments of thoſe ancient times in which the prices of various commodities are mentioned. How amazingly low, for example, was the price of land? Some very clear evidences have already been produced, to which many more might be added, to prove, that the moſt common price of an acre of land, of the very beſt quality in the Anglo-Saxon times, was no more than ſixteen Saxon pennies, or about four ſhillings of our money. Muſt it not appear incredible to us, that our anceſtors, about eight or nine hundred years ago, paid as much money for four ſheep as for an acre of the beſt arable land? This very ſtrange, but well-atteſted fact, is not only a proof of the ſcarcity of money and of the low ſtate of agriculture; but ſeems to indicate a more ſcanty population in thoſe times than is commonly imagined: for hardly any thing but a great want of people to occupy the country could have made land of ſo little value in proportion to other things. By the Anglo-Saxon

Saxon laws, certain prices were ſet upon all animals, men themſelves not excepted, which were to be paid by thoſe who deſtroyed them; and theſe were no doubt the ſame prices for which ſuch animals were uſually purchaſed in the markets. In the laws of Ethelred the Unready, which were made near the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, are the following prices; which we ſhall give both in Saxon and Sterling money [146].

Price	*Saxon.* £.	s.	d.	*Sterling.* £.	s.	d.
Of a man or ſlave, -	1	0	0	2	16	3
Of a horſe, - -		30	0	1	15	2
Of a mare or colt, -		20	0	1	3	5
Of an aſs or mule, -		12	0		14	1
Of an ox, - -		6	0		7	0½
Of a cow, - -		5	4		5	6
Of a ſwine, - -		1	3		1	10½
Of a ſheep, - -		1	0		1	2
Of a goat, - -			2			5½

From the above table it plainly appears, that an Anglo-Saxon, in the reign of king Ethelred, could have purchaſed twenty horſes, or mares, or mules, or oxen, or cows, or ſwine, or ſheep, or goats, to ſay nothing of men, for the ſame quantity of ſilver that an Engliſhman muſt now pay for one of theſe animals of the middle ſort. This ſeems to be as near as poſſible the true proportion between the value of money in the preſent times, and of thoſe which we are now

[146] Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 126.

examining,

examining, in the purchaſe of theſe moſt neceſſary and uſeful animals, and of all kinds of proviſions, except in times of famine. In ſome other things, however, the proportion was very different. In the purchaſe of land, for example, money was ſeveral hundred times more valuable than it is at preſent; but in the purchaſe of books it was not really of ſo great value as it is at this moment. So much hath the value of the former increaſed by the improvements of agriculture, and the increaſe of trade and population, and ſo much hath the pecuniary value of the latter decreaſed by the moſt uſeful inventions of paper and printing, by which books are multiplied almoſt *ad infinitum*. Such of our readers as deſire to ſee a more full and minute enumeration of the prices of animals, and of all their members, in this period (from the head of a king to the tail of a cat), may conſult the work quoted below; which will ſuggeſt a thouſand reflections concerning the different eſtimations of things, and the different taſtes and deſires of mankind in different circumſtances [147]. How much, for example, muſt we be ſurpriſed to ſee, that by the eſtabliſhed laws of one part of this iſland, and moſt probably of the whole, the price of a hawk, or of a greyhound, was once the very ſame with the price of a man; and that there was a time, when the robbing a hawk's neſt was as great a crime in the eye of the law, and as ſeverely puniſhed, as the murder of a chriſtian [148].

[147] Leges Wallicæ, p. 230—279. [148] Id. ibid.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VII.

The history of the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions, of the people of Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449, *to the landing of William duke of Normandy,* A. D. 1066.

Happiness of nations depends more on their manners than on their circumstances.

THE honour and happiness of nations, as well as of particular persons, depend more on their manners than on their situation and circumstances. An active, brave, intelligent, and virtuous people, cannot be contemptible in any condition, nor unhappy in any habitable climate. Such a people, if they do not change their manners, will soon improve their circumstances, and convert the most unhospitable deserts, if they are not naturally incapable of vegetation,

getation, into pleaſant and fertile fields, crowded with inhabitants, and adorned with cities, towns, and villages. We need look no further than to our own American colonies for the moſt agreeable and convincing evidence of the truth of this aſſertion. Thoſe countries which were, not very long ago, covered with almoſt impenetrable foreſts, the haunts of wild beaſts and naked ſavages, are now become fertile, rich, and populous provinces, and are daily improving in all theſe particulars. On the other hand, nations corrupted by long and great proſperity, become luxurious, effeminate, and licentious in their manners, are objects of contempt and pity in the moſt flouriſhing circumſtances. Reſtleſs, peeviſh, and diſcontented, amidſt the greateſt affluence, inſatiable in their avarice, unbounded in their ambition, they are on the brink of ruin when they ſeem to have attained the pinnacle of human grandeur. Hiſtory affords too many examples of mighty nations, whoſe deſtruction hath been occaſioned by the corruption of their manners and who have been ruined by their own follies and vices, rather than by the arms of their enemies. For this, and many other reaſons, the hiſtory of the prevailing character and reigning manners of a nation, in every period, is both the moſt uſeful and amuſing part of its hiſtory, and merits the moſt particular attention.

People of Britain of two kinds.

Great Britain, in this period, was inhabited by ſeveral diſtinct nations, which formed ſo many

many different ſtates and kingdoms. All theſe nations, however, with reſpect to their manners, cuſtoms, languages, &c. may be divided into theſe two claſſes, viz. 1. The poſterity of the ancient Britons, who were left in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole iſland by the Romans at their departure; and who continued in the poſſeſſion of Wales, and the far greateſt part of Scotland, to the end of this period. For though theſe Britons were divided into different ſtates, and unhappily engaged in war againſt each other, their national characters, manners, languages, &c. were very much the ſame. 2. The ſeveral nations who came from Germany and Scandinavia, and made conqueſts and procured ſettlements in Britain, in the courſe of this period. For though theſe nations were called by different names, as Angles, Jutes, Saxons, and Danes, they were all deſcended from the ſame origin, ſpoke the ſame language, and had the ſame national manners and cuſtoms.

Not neceſſary to delineate the manners of the Scots and Welſh in this period.

The manners, &c. of the ancient Britons and Caledonians, the original inhabitants of this iſland, have been ſo fully delineated in the ſeventh chapter of the firſt book of this work, that it will not be neceſſary to give a minute detail of thoſe of their poſterity, who form the firſt of theſe two claſſes, in the preſent period. It would be impoſſible to do this, without repeating what hath been already ſaid on theſe ſubjects. For the people of Wales, and of the highlands of Scotland, the genuine deſcendants of the ancient

Britons and Caledonians, appear to have had the ſame manners and national character in this as in the preceding period; and both theſe nations have been very remarkable for their tenacious adherence to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors through a long ſucceſſion of ages. This hath been owing,—to their pride of their antiquity,—to their national animoſity againſt their neareſt neighbours, kept conſtantly alive by mutual injuries,—to the nature of their country,—and to their want of commerce, or other intercourſe with foreign nations; and not—to their want of capacity for improvement.

Manners of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes the chief ſubject of this chapter.

This is the firſt opportunity we have had of examining the manners, &c. of the ſecond of the above claſſes, the nations who came from Germany and Scandinavia, and ſettled in Britain, in the courſe of this period. This muſt therefore be the chief ſubject of the preſent chapter. A curious and intereſting ſubject, which merits a moſt careful and attentive inveſtigation! For the far greateſt part of the preſent inhabitants of England, and even of the ſouth-eaſt parts of Scotland, being deſcended from thoſe Scandinavian and German nations, muſt wiſh to ſee a diſtinct and faithful picture of their remote anceſtors, whoſe blood is ſtill flowing in their veins, whom they ſtill reſemble in their perſons, and from whom they derive many remarkable peculiarities in their national character and manners. In drawing this picture, a ſacred regard to truth (which I have ſpared no pains to diſcover) hath been

been my only guide; and this ſhall be my only apology to thoſe who think it not ſo fair, and free from blemiſhes, as they expected. Our Anglo-Saxon and Daniſh anceſtors muſt indeed appear to great diſadvantage in many reſpects, if they are compared with their poſterity in the preſent age, who have been ſo much enlightened, improved, and poliſhed, by the diſcoveries of later ages, eſpecially ſince the revival of learning and the reformation of religion. But they will very well bear a compariſon with their cotemporaries, in the other nations of Europe; with whom alone they ought to be compared.

The climate.

We have no account of any remarkable change in the climate of Great Britain in the courſe of this period (as we had in the former), that could much affect the perſons or manners of its inhabitants. We hear indeed of ſeveral plagues, which raged with great violence, and ſwept away great numbers of men, as well as of other animals; but theſe do not ſeem to have been more frequent, or more deſtructive, in this than in other periods of equal length. Famines indeed were both very frequent and very ſevere in thoſe ages; but theſe were rather owing to the imperfect ſtate of agriculture, than to any extraordinary inclemency of the ſeaſons.

Face of the country.

The face of the country ſuffered a very great and fatal change after the departure of the Romans. Many fine towns, villages, and country-ſeats, were reduced to ruins by the inceſſant and deſtructive wars of the Scots, Picts, Saxons, and

Danes; great numbers of gardens, orchards, and well-cultivated fields, had their fences broken down, and lay neglected; and the whole country, in one word, wore a dreary uncomfortable aſpect during a great part of this period; which was partly the conſequence, and partly the cauſe, of ſeveral imperfections in the characters of its inhabitants [1].

Perſons of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons, and Danes, who came from Germany and Scandinavia, and ſettled in Britain, are deſcribed by all the ancient writers who were acquainted with them, as remarkably tall, ſtrong, and robuſt in their perſons. This advantage they derived from their anceſtors, and communicated to their poſterity. For all the Greek and Roman authors who ſpeak of the ancient Germans, the anceſtors of the Anglo-Saxons, repreſent them as ſuperior to all the reſt of mankind in ſtature [2]. Nor did their poſterity degenerate in this reſpect after their ſettlement in this iſland, but ſtill continued to be remarkable among the nations of Europe for the largeneſs of their limbs and height of their ſtature; but ſtill more remarkable for the elegance of their ſhape, the fairneſs of their complexions, and fineneſs of their hair [3]. Theſe were the three things which attracted the notice and excited the admiration of Gregory the Great, when he beheld ſome Engliſh

1 Hiſtoria Gildæ, et Epiſtola Gildæ paſſim.

2 Cæſar, l. 1. c 39. Mela, l. 3. c. 3. Columella, l. 3. c. 8. Vegetius, l. 1. c. 1. Strabo, l. 7. p. 290.

3 Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 1. Alcuin. apud Gale, t. 1. p 703.

youths

youths expoſed to ſale in the market-place at Rome. He was ſo much ſtruck with the beauty of their perſons, that when he was told, that they were named *Engliſh* (Anglos, and that they and their countrymen were not yet converted to Chriſtianity, he broke out into this exclamation: "How lamentable is it, that the prince of darkneſs ſhould have ſuch beautiful ſubjects, and "that a nation ſo amiable in their bodies ſhould "have none of the charms of divine grace in "their ſouls! Their form is truly angelic, and "they are fit to be the companions of the angels "in heaven[4]!" We meet with ſeveral examples, in the writers of this period, of Engliſh youths preſerved from death on account of the beauty of their perſons, after they had been condemned by their enemies, and were on the point of being executed[5]: a ſufficient proof, that there muſt have been ſomething uncommonly engaging in the aſpect and form of theſe youths, which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the hearts of enemies no way famous for tenderneſs or humanity. Their hair, as well as their complexions, were generally fair; but in various degrees; thoſe of the Danes, who chiefly reſided in the kingdom of Northumberland, being frequently red[6]. Their eyes, which were commonly blue, are ſaid to have had ſomething peculiarly ſtern and intimidating in them when they were inflamed

[4] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 1. [5] Eddius Vita Wilfredi, c. 6.
[6] Cluver. p. 96.

with anger [7]. Like the ancient Germans, from whom they were deſcended, and to whom they bore a very great reſemblance in their perſons, they were more capable of bearing hunger and cold than thirſt and heat [8]. When the perſons of the males among the Anglo-Saxons were ſo agreeable in their form, we may be almoſt certain, that thoſe of their females were ſtill more fair and beautiful. Many evidences of this might be produced from books; but this will not be thought neceſſary by thoſe who have the pleaſure of converſing daily with their amiable daughters, who are not excelled in perſonal charms by any women in the world.

Longevity of the Anglo-Saxons.

As good health and long life depend very much on the natural ſoundneſs and vigour of the body, and the right configuration of its various parts, we have reaſon to preſume, that many of the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed a great degree of health, and that ſome of them prolonged their lives to an uncommon date. Of this laſt we meet with ſeveral examples in the remaining monuments of their hiſtory; from which the following is ſelected as one of the moſt remarkable and beſt atteſted. When the famous Turketul, who had been chancellor of England, and one of the greateſt warriors and ſtateſmen of his time, retired from the world, and became abbot of Croiland, he found five very aged monks in that monaſtery, to whom he paid particular at-

7 Pitteulur, t. 1. p. 198. 8 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 4.

tention.

tention. Father Clarenbald, the eldeſt of thoſe monks, died A. D. 973, after he had completed the 168th year of his age; the ſecond, who was named *Father Swarling*, died that ſame year, at the age of 142; the third, who was called *Father Turgar*, died the year after, in the 115th year of his age. The two other monks, named *Brune* and *Ajo*, died about the ſame time: and though their ages were not exactly known; yet it cannot be ſuppoſed that they were much younger than Father Turgar; becauſe they had both ſeen the old Abbey of Croiland, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes A. D. 870. Theſe facts are related with much confidence, and many other circumſtances, by Ingulphus, who was alſo abbot of Croiland, and wrote from the hiſtorical regiſter of that abbey [9].

Genius of the Anglo-Saxons.

It is much eaſier to form a judgment of the bodily than of the mental endowments of any people. The former manifeſt themſelves by mere inſtinct, and are viſible to every eye; but the latter require much culture to unfold and render them conſpicuous. We have no reaſon, however, to ſuſpect, that the Anglo-Saxons were naturally defective in genius, or in any of the faculties of their minds; though the univerſal darkneſs and ignorance of thoſe ages in which they lived, prevented the cultivation of their genius and the improvement of their faculties. Some few of them, as Aldhelm, Beda, Alcuin,

[9] Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 505.

Alfred the Great, &c. were endowed with ſuch an uncommon degree of genius, and ſtrength of mind, that they overcame, in a great meaſure, all the diſadvantages of their ſituation, and ſhone with a luſtre far ſuperior to their cotemporaries. It is certainly no ſlight preſumption, that the people of England, in thoſe times, enjoyed their full proportion of genius, that the three moſt learned and ingenious men that appeared in Europe in the ſpace of ſix centuries were Engliſhmen, viz. Bede, Alcuin, and Alfred.

Anglo-Saxon authors give an unfavourable character of their countrymen.

A writer, who wiſhes to draw an agreeable picture of the diſpoſitions, manners, and moral characters, of the Anglo-Saxons, will find very few materials for that purpoſe in their own cotemporary writers. This I may preſume to ſay with ſome aſſurance, as I have peruſed every remaining monument of thoſe times that I could procure, with a direct view to this object, with very little ſucceſs. For though thoſe ancient authors exceed all the bounds of truth and probability, in heaping the moſt extravagant praiſes on certain favourite ſaints, and a few great benefactors to the church, they are very far from giving a favourable character of their countrymen in general, eſpecially of the laity. On the contrary, they frequently paint them in the moſt odious colours, and repreſent them as a people deſtitute of every virtue, and ſtained with every vice. To give many examples of this would be diſagreeable: the following ſhort one, tranſlated from a Saxon ſermon, preached by one of their own biſhops

biſhops A. D. 1012, will be a ſufficient ſpecimen of their way of painting the manners of their countrymen. "It cannot be denied, for it is "too evident, that this nation is plunged into "innumerable crimes and vices; as covetouſ-"neſs, theft, robbery, gluttony, heatheniſh "impurities, fornications, adulteries, inceſts, "plottings, treacheries, treaſons, lyings, per-"juries, cruelties, murders, parricides.——The "far greateſt part of the people of this coun-"try, as I have already ſaid, are deplorably cor-"rupted in their manners, and become murder-"ers, parricides, prieſt-killers, monaſtery-haters, "violators of ſacred orders, falſe ſwearers, apo-"ſtates, betrayers of their maſters, thieves, rob-"bers, and plunderers. Many of the women "alſo are whores, adultereſſes, child-murderers, "and witches. In a word, it is impoſſible either "to number or give names to all their wicked "and flagitious deeds [10]." A horrid and ſhocking picture! but it is probably much more deformed than the original. For there have been eccleſiaſtics in all ages, who delighted to declaim with vehemence againſt the vices of their times and countries, and when they were heated with their favourite ſubject, have loaded them with every crime their imaginations could invent, without a very ſcrupulous regard to truth. The good biſhop Lupus, the author of the above ſermon, ſeems to have been one of this ſtamp.

[10] Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 104, 105.

It

It is a misfortune that we have no means of viewing the characters of our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, but through the dark medium preſented to us by bigotted and gloomy monks, who were the only writers of thoſe times. For as thoſe monks could perceive no vices in their patrons, who were regularly conveyed to heaven in the arms of angels; ſo they could diſcover no virtues in their oppoſers, who were as conſtantly diſpatched to hell in the claws of devils; and therefore their repreſentations of the characters, either of their friends or enemies, are far from meriting an implicit faith.

Their piety tinctured with ſuperſtition.

A devout regard to ſacred things, and the offices of religion, may be juſtly reckoned among the virtues of the Anglo-Saxons, after their converſion to Chriſtianity. Of this, if it were neceſſary, innumerable evidences might be produced. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that their piety was not of the pureſt kind, but was tinctured with the abſurd and wretched ſuperſtitions of the ages in which they flouriſhed; for which they are rather to be pitied than reproached. But their ſubmitting to the expences, pains, and labours, with which their ſuperſtitious obſervances were attended, is at leaſt an evidence, that they were diſpoſed to have been religious if they had been right inſtructed. It may not therefore, be improper, in this place, to take a ſhort view of ſome of thoſe things which are moſt remarkable in the religious principles and practices of the Anglo-Saxons.

The

The Engliſh, in this period, were very remarkable for their extravagant fondneſs for the monaſtic life; which was univerſally eſteemed the ſureſt road to heaven. This fondneſs for ending their days in thoſe ſeats of ſloth and ſuperſtition, not only prevailed among the clergy, and perſons of inferior ſtations, but thoſe in the higheſt ranks of life were ſo much infected with it, that no fewer than ten kings, and eleven queens, among the Anglo-Saxons, beſides nobles without number, in the courſe of this period, abandoned the world, and retired into monaſteries. This pernicious infatuation is ſeverely cenſured, and bitterly lamented, by venerable Bede, as deſtructive to his country, by depriving it of its governors and protectors[11]. But almoſt all the other monks and clergy acted a very different part, and employed a thouſand arts to perſuade kings and nobles to build and enrich monaſteries. This, they aſſured them, was the moſt effectual way of obtaining the pardon of all their ſins, ſecuring the divine favour, and procuring all manner of bleſſings from heaven.

Their fondneſs for the monaſtic life.

When earl Alwine, who was the greateſt and richeſt man in England in the reign of Edgar the Peaceable, conſulted St. Oſwald, biſhop of York, what he ſhould do to obtain the pardon of his ſins; the pious prelate made him the following eloquent harangue: "I beſeech your excel-"lency to believe, that thoſe holy men who have

Arts of the clergy to perſuade great men to build monaſteries.

[11] Bedæ Epiſt. ad Egberctum. p. 309, 310.

"retired

"retired from the world, and ſpend their days "in poverty and prayer, are the greateſt favour- "ites of Heaven, and the greateſt bleſſings to "the world. It is by their merits that the "divine judgments are averted and changed; "that plagues and famines are removed; that "healthful ſeaſons and plentiful harveſts are "procured; that ſtates and kingdoms are go- "verned; that priſons are opened, captives de- "livered, ſhipwrecks prevented, the weak "ſtrengthened, and the ſick healed: that I may "ſay all in one word, it is by their merits that "this world, ſo full of wickedneſs, is preſerved "from immediate ruin and deſtruction. I in- "treat you therefore, my dear ſon, if you have "any place in your eſtate fit for that purpoſe, "that you immediately build a monaſtery, and "fill it with holy monks, whoſe prayers will "ſupply all your defects, and expiate all your "crimes[12]." The building of Ramſey abbey was the conſequence of this fine ſpeech. The clergy in this period conſtantly inculcated upon the rich, that the world was near an end, and the day of judgment at hand; which procured many donations to the church, as appears from the charters ſtill extant, beginning with theſe words:—"ſince the end of the world is at hand," or words to that purpoſe[13]. What was given by rich men to monaſteries, was repreſented by the monks as contributing greatly to the future

[12] Hiſtoria Ramſienſ. p. 397. [13] Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 77.

repoſe of the ſouls of thoſe who gave it, and of their friends; from whence it became a common practice for all men who had any ſenſe of religion or concern for their ſalvation, to bequeath a ſhare of their eſtates at leaſt to their own ſouls, as it was called when they gave it to a church or monaſtery [14]. "King Æthelwulf (ſays Aſſerius), "like a wiſe man, made his teſtament in writ- "ing, and divided his eſtate between his ſoul "and his children: what he gave to his children "I need not mention; what he gave to his own "ſoul was as follows," &c. &c. The monks were at great pains to perſuade rich men to become monks themſelves, or to make ſome of their children monks, by which they gained great acceſſions both of wealth and credit; for when they got poſſeſſion of their perſons they were certain of their eſtates. When they could not prevail with great men to abandon the world, during life, they perſuaded them, that it would be of great benefit to their ſouls to have their bodies buried in a monaſtery near the relics of ſome famous ſaint; a privilege which could not be procured but for a very valuable conſideration [15]. It was alſo a common practice in thoſe times, for monaſteries to grant to ſome great man one of their eſtates during his own life, upon condition that it ſhould revert to the monaſtery at his death, accompanied by ſuch another eſtate

[14] Aſſer. Vita Ælfredi, p. 4.
[15] Hiſtor. Ramſien. p. 460. Hiſt. Elienſ. p. 470.

of

of his family for the good of his ſoul. Thus did they circumvent, by applying to their covetouſneſs, thoſe whom they could not delude by other means[16]. In a word, there were very few in thoſe times who had either any hopes of heaven or fears of hell, who did not leave a ſhare of their wealth to ſome church or monaſtery. So inſatiably covetous were the Engliſh clergy of this period, that they were not aſhamed to boaſt of the moſt infamous impoſitions on the unhappy laity, as pious and meritorious actions, when they contributed to enrich the church. What extravagant praiſes are beſtowed by the monkiſh writers on Ætheric, biſhop of Dorcheſter, in the reign of king Canute, for his dexterous management, in making a Daniſh nobleman drunk, and buying a fine eſtate from him for a mere trifle when he was in that condition; becauſe the holy biſhop (who deſerved to have been ſeverely puniſhed for his knavery) granted that eſtate to the abbey of Ramſey[17]? By theſe, and various other means, ſuch torrents of wealth flowed into the church in the courſe of this period, that before the end of it the clergy were in poſſeſſion of much more than one third of the lands of England, beſides the tithes of the whole; and of great wealth in money, plate, and moveables of all kinds.

Fond of pilgrimages.

The Anglo-Saxons in this period placed much of their religion in performing pilgrimages to

[16] Hiſt. Elienſ. p. 458. [17] Id. p. 441.

Jeruſalem,

Jeruſalem, Rome, and other places, both at home and abroad, that had obtained the reputation of extraordinary ſanctity. Theſe pilgrimages, eſpecially to Rome, were enjoined upon ſinners, as the moſt ſatisfactory penances for the greateſt crimes, and recommended to ſaints as the moſt acceptable ſervices to God. Few pious perſons of any rank in thoſe times could die in peace, or think themſelves ſure of heaven, till they had kiſſed the pope's toe, and viſited the pretended ſepulchres of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. "I have been told (ſays Canute the Great), that "the apoſtle Peter had received great authority "from the Lord, and carried the keys of heaven; "and therefore I thought it abſolutely neceſſary "to ſecure his favour by a pilgrimage to "Rome[18]." For ſuch reaſons, kings, queens, nobles, prelates, monks, nuns, ſaints, and ſinners, wiſe men, and fools, were impatient to undertake theſe religious journies; and all the roads between Rome and England were conſtantly crowded with Engliſh pilgrims. It appears indeed, that the morals of theſe ſuperſtitious vagabonds, eſpecially of the ladies, were not much improved by theſe peregrinations. Boniface, archbiſhop of Mentz, an Engliſhman, in a letter which he wrote to Cuthbert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, A. D. 745, exhorts him,—"to prevent ſuch great numbers "of Engliſh nuns from going on pilgrimages to "Rome; becauſe ſo many of them loſe their

[18] Spelman. Concil. Britan. t. 1. p. 535.

"virtue

" virtue before they return, that there is hardly " a city or town in Lombardy, France, or Gaul, " in which there are not ſome Engliſh women " who live by proſtitution, to the great reproach " of your church [19]." It is not improbable, that theſe ladies, being certain of a plenary remiſſion of all their ſins when they arrived at their journey's end, might think there could be no great harm in adding a little to the number of them by the way.

Great veneration for ſaints and relics.

An exceſſive veneration for ſaints and relics was another remarkable circumſtance in the religious principles and practices of the Engliſh of this period. William of Malmſbury repreſents it as the peculiar glory of England in the Anglo-Saxon times, that it abounded more in ſaints and relics than any other country. " What ſhall I ſay " of all our holy biſhops, hermits, and abbots? " Is not this whole country ſo glorious and refulgent with relics, that you can hardly enter a " village of any note, without hearing of ſome " new ſaint, though the names of many of our " Engliſh ſaints have periſhed for want of writings [20]?" There never was a time in which honours and riches were ſo much admired and coveted, as old rags, rotten bones, and ruſty nails, &c. were admired and coveted by the religious of this period. Theſe were ſent by the greateſt princes to each other as the moſt valuable preſents, preſerved by churches and

19 Spelman. Concil. Britan. t. 1. p. 241. 20 W. Malmſ. p. 57.

monaſteries

monaſteries as their moſt ineſtimable treaſures, depoſited in caſkets adorned with gold and precious ſtones, and were never viewed without being adored. "At the death of abbot Turketul (ſays Ingulphus), A. D. 975, the abbey of "Croiland was very rich in relics, which that "holy abbot had received from Henry emperor "of Germany, Hugh king of France, Louis "prince of Aquitain, and many other dukes, "earls, nobles, and prelates, when he was "chancellor of England. Among theſe he had "the greateſt veneration for a thumb of the "apoſtle St. Bartholomew, which he conſtantly "carried about him, and with which he ſigned "himſelf in all times of dangers, tempeſts, and "thunders. This moſt precious relic had been "preſented to the emperor by the duke of Beneventum when he knighted him, and by the "emperor to Turketul while he was chancellor. "He had alſo a lock of the hairs of Mary the "mother of God, which the king of France had "given him incloſed in a box of gold; and a "bone of St. Leodegarius the biſhop and martyr, which he had received from the prince of "Aquitain[21]." So great was the rage for relics in this period, eſpecially among the clergy, that they made no ſcruple of being guilty of theft, robbery, or almoſt any crime, to get them into their poſſeſſion; and when a monk had the dexterity to ſteal the little finger of ſome famous ſaint

[21] Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 505.

from another monaſtery, he was eſteemed the greateſt and happieſt of men among his brethren [22]. If real relics could not be procured, falſe ones were ſubſtituted in their room, and expoſed as objects of veneration to the deluded multitudes, without remorſe or ſhame. Still further to increaſe their veneration for this kind of trumpery, a thouſand improbable tales of miracles performed by relics were invented by the monks, and ſwallowed by the people without the leaſt examination [23].

Fondneſs for pſalmody.

The public worſhip of the Anglo-Saxons, and of ſeveral other nations in this period, conſiſted chiefly in pſalmody; in which both the clergy and laity took much delight. In ſome cathedrals and larger monaſteries, this exerciſe was continued both night and day without intermiſſion, by a conſtant ſucceſſion of prieſts and ſingers, with whom the laity occaſionally joined [24]. "Both the ears and minds (ſays an "excellent antiquary) of the people of all ranks "were ſo much charmed with this inceſſant me-"lody of the monks, that it contributed not a "little to increaſe their zeal and liberality in "building monaſteries." This taſte for pſalmody very much increaſed after the introduction of organs into churches in the courſe of the ninth century: "whoſe pipes of copper (to uſe the "words of a writer of that age) being winded

22 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 39. 23 Murator. Antiq. Diſſertat. 58.
24 Id. Diſſert. 56. t. 4. p. 772.

"by

" by bellows, and furniſhed with proper ſtops " and keys, ſent forth a moſt loud and raviſh- " ing muſic, that was heard at a great diſ- " tance [25]." Even the private devotions of the good people of thoſe times conſiſted almoſt entirely in ſinging a prodigious number of pſalms; which was eſteemed the moſt effectual means of appeaſing the wrath of Heaven, and making an atonement for their own ſins, or the ſins of their friends, either living or dead. It was commonly an article in thoſe voluntary aſſo- ciations called *gilds* or *fraternities*, ſo frequent among the Anglo-Saxons, " that each mem- " ber ſhould ſing two pſalms every day, one for " all the members of the fraternity that were " living, and the other for all that had been " members, but were dead; and that at the " death of a member, each of the ſurviving " members ſhould ſing ſix pſalms for the repoſe " of his ſoul [26]." All kinds of penances might be redeemed by ſinging a ſufficient number of pſalms and *pater-noſters*. For example, if a pe- nitent was condemned to faſt a certain number of days, he might redeem as many of them as he pleaſed, at the rate of ſinging ſix *pater-noſters*, and the 119th pſalm ſix times over, for one day's faſt [27]. In a word, pſalm-ſinging was a kind of ſpiritual caſh in thoſe times, and anſwered the ſame purpoſes in religion that money did in trade.

25 Hiſt. Ramſien. p. 420. 26 Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 22.
27 Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 963.

Not neceſſary to make this enumeration more complete.

There were many other particulars both in the religious principles and practices of the Anglo-Saxons, which would appear very ſingular to their poſterity in the preſent age, though they were common to them with all the other nations of Europe in thoſe times of ignorance and ſuperſtition. But there doth not ſeem to be any neceſſity for making this enumeration more complete. We have ſeen enough to convince us of the religious diſpoſitions of our anceſtors, and their ſincere deſires of recommending themſelves to the divine favour; and to make us lament, that the means which they were taught to employ for that purpoſe were not more agreeable to right reaſon and genuine revelation.

Their love of liberty.

After the account that hath been given of the Anglo-Saxon conſtitution in a former chapter, it is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the love of political liberty, and of a free and legal form of government, may be juſtly reckoned among the national virtues of the Engliſh in this period. This virtue, together with the great and leading principles of their conſtitution, they derived from their anceſtors, the ancient Germans, who are greatly celebrated by the Greek and Roman writers for their love of liberty, and their brave defence of that ineſtimable bleſſing[28]. Thoſe armies of adventurers which arrived from Germany in queſt of ſettlements in this iſland, in the fifth and ſixth centuries, were compoſed of high-

[28] Pelloutier, l. 2. c. 14.

ſpirited

ſpirited and haughty warriors, who were almoſt equals, and would admit of no greater degrees of ſubordination than they choſe themſelves, and thought neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes. Their conqueſts, we may be certain, did not abate their haughtineſs, or make them more ſubmiſſive to their leaders. For their own honour, after their ſettlement, they allowed thoſe leaders to aſſume the name of kings, and gave them a large proportion of the conquered lands to ſupport their dignity; but they ſtill retained in their own hands the power of making laws, impoſing taxes, and determining all national queſtions of importance, in their national aſſemblies, as their anceſtors had done in their native ſeats on the continent [29]. Of theſe ineſtimable privileges they continued to be infinitely jealous, and to defend them with the moſt undaunted reſolution; and it is to this political jealouſy and reſolution of our remote anceſtors, that we are indebted for our preſent free and legal form of government.

Martial valour was the peculiar boaſt and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the ancient nations of Germany and Scandinavia. The genuine ſpirit and ſentiments of all theſe nations are expreſſed with much energy in the following words of one of their chieftains: "Valour is the moſt "glorious attribute of man, which endears him Their valour.

[29] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 7. 11, 12.

" to the gods, who never forſake the valiant[30]." It was this undaunted, or rather frantic valour, that enabled the northern nations to reſiſt the Roman arms, and at length to overturn the Roman empire. Nor were any of thoſe nations (except the Scandinavians, who were the ſcourge of all the countries of Europe for ſeveral centuries) more renowned for valour than the Saxons. It was the fame of their valour that engaged the unhappy Britons to apply to the Saxons for their protection againſt the Scots and Picts. This appears from the following expreſſions in the ſpeech of their ambaſſadors: " Moſt noble Saxons, the " wretched and miſerable Britons, worn out by " the perpetual incurſions of their enemies, " having heard of the many glorious victories " which you have obtained by your valour, have " ſent us, their humble ſuppliants, to implore " your aſſiſtance and protection.—Formerly we " lived in peace and ſafety under the protection " of the Romans; and next to them, knowing " none more brave and powerful than you, we " fly for refuge under the wings of your va- " lour[31]." The Britons were not miſtaken in their high opinion of the valour and martial ſpirit of the Saxons; who thereby not only repulſed the Scots and Picts, which were fierce and warlike nations, but alſo ſubdued the Britons themſelves, who called them to their protection.

[30] Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 17. [31] See vol. 1. p. 132.

It

Valour of the Anglo-Saxons diminiſhed.

It muſt, however, be confeſſed that the Anglo-Saxons did not retain this part of their national character in its full vigour through the whole of this period. For after they had been ſome time peaceably ſettled in England, had embraced the Chriſtian religion in that corrupted form in which it was preſented to them, and many of them had contracted a fondneſs for the monaſtic life, they loſt much of their former martial ſpirit, and became rather a timid than a warlike people. Venerable Bede, though he was a monk himſelf, and a moſt religious man, beheld this change in the national character of his countrymen with deep concern, and foretold the fatal conſequences with which it would be attended. He called the rage of building monaſteries, and embracing the monaſtic life, which began to prevail in his time, a moſt pernicious madneſs, which deprived the country both of ſoldiers and commanders to defend it from the invaſions of its enemies[32]. William of Malmſbury alſo takes notice of this change in the national character of the Anglo-Saxons: "The manners of the Engliſh have "been different in different periods. At their "arrival in Britain, they were a fierce, bold, "and warlike people; but after they had em-"braced the Chriſtian religion, they became "by degrees more peaceful in their diſpoſitions; "devotion was then their greateſt national vir-"tue, and valour poſſeſſed only the ſecond place

[32] Bedæ Epiſt. ad Egberctum.

" in their eſteem [33]." It was this great diminution of the martial ſpirit of the Engliſh that made them ſuffer ſo much from the depredations of the Danes. The difference in this reſpect between theſe two nations at length became ſo great, that the Engliſh fled before inferior numbers of the Danes, and could hardly be prevailed upon to meet them in the field of battle on any terms. " How long is it (ſays an Engliſh au-
" thor in the reign of king Ethelred the Un-
" ready) ſince the Engliſh obtained a victory
" over their enemies? The pirates are now be-
" come ſo bold and fearleſs, that one of them
" ſometimes puts ten, ſometimes more, ſome-
" times fewer, of us to flight. O the miſery
" and worldly ſhame in which England is in-
" volved through the wrath of God! How often
" doth two or three troops of Danes drive the
" whole Engliſh army before them from ſea to
" ſea, to our eternal infamy, if we were ca-
" pable of feeling ſhame! But, alas! ſo abject
" are we become, that we worſhip thoſe who
" trample upon us, and load us with indigni-
" ties [34]." In this laſt expreſſion, the reverend biſhop (for ſuch this writer was) had probably in his eye that remarkable inſtance of the abject ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to the inſolence of the Danes, which is mentioned by other authors,—
" That when an Engliſhman met a Dane on a
" bridge, or in a narrow path, where he could

33 W. Malmſ. p. 57. 34 Hickeſii Differtat. Epiſtol. p. 103.

" not

" not avoid him, he was obliged to ſtand ſtill, " with his head uncovered, and in a bowing " poſture, as ſoon as the Dane appeared, and " to remain in that poſture till he was out of " ſight[35]." Nay, the biſhop himſelf, in this very ſermon, gives an example of the brutal inſolence of the Danes, and of the ſpiritleſs ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh, which is too indelicate and ſhocking to be here inſerted[36]. The truth is, that nothing can be more difficult than to keep a ſufficient portion of the gallant and martial ſpirit alive in a people ſoftened by long tranquillity, and keenly engaged in peaceful purſuits of any kind: nor can any thing be more dangerous than to ſuffer that ſpirit to be extinguiſhed. To this both the ancient Britons and the Anglo-Saxons owed all their miſeries and diſgraces.

Martial ſpirit of the Danes.

The Danes, who conſtituted ſo great a proportion of the inhabitants, and were for ſome time the predominant people of England in this period, were of as bold, fearleſs, and intrepid a ſpirit, as the Saxons had ever been, and rather more fierce and warlike. The hiſtories of almoſt all the other nations of Europe, as well as of the Engliſh, in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, contain the moſt ample evi-

[35] Pontopi dan. Geſta et Veſtigia Danorum extra Daniam, t. 2. p. 139.

[36] Sæpenumero decem aut duodecem Dani alternis vicibus uxorem, vel filiam, vel cognatam thayni vitiant, ipſo thayno ſpectante, nec prohibente. *Sermo Lupi Epiſcopi, apud Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 103.*

dences

dences of this fact. In that period the people of Scandinavia, comprehending the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, breathed nothing but war, and were animated with a moſt aſtoniſhing ſpirit of enterpriſe and adventure. By their numerous fleets, they rode triumphant in all the European ſeas, and carried terror and deſolation to the coaſts of Germany, France, Spain, Italy, England, Scotland, and Ireland, to ſay nothing of the Eaſt, into which they alſo penetrated [37]. The inhabitants of all theſe countries, eſpecially of the ſea-coaſts, lived in continual apprehenſions of thoſe dreadful enemies; and it made a part of their daily prayers to be preſerved by Providence from their deſtructive viſits [38].

Cauſes of the martial ſpirit of the Danes.

Many things contributed to kindle this love, or rather rage, for war and martial atchievements, in the boſoms of the Scandinavians, in this period. They were Pagans; and thoſe who were the objects of their worſhip had been famous warriors, whoſe favour, they imagined, could only be obtained by brave exploits in war. Their admiſſion into the hall of Odin (the father of ſlaughter, the god of fire and deſolation), and all their future happineſs, they were taught to believe, depended on the violence of their own death, and on the number of their

37 Pontopidani Geſta et Veſtigia Danorum extra Daniam, 3 tom. 8vo. Lipſiæ et Hafniæ, A. D. 1741.

38 It was a petition in the Litany of thoſe times,—"A furore Normannorum libera nos Domine."

enemies

enemies which they had ſlain in battle [39]. This belief inſpired them with a contempt of life, a fondneſs for a violent death, and a thirſt for blood, which are happily unknown, and appear incredible in the preſent times [40]. Their education was no leſs martial in its ſpirit and tendency than their religion. Many of them were born in fleets or camps; and the firſt objects on which they fixed their eyes were arms, ſtorms, battles, blood, and ſlaughter. Nurſed and brought up in the midſt of theſe terrible objects, they by degrees became familiar, and at length delightful. Their childhood and their dawn of youth were wholly ſpent in running, leaping, climbing, ſwimming, wreſtling, boxing, fighting, and ſuch exerciſes as hardened both their ſouls and bodies, and diſpoſed and fitted them for the toils of war. As ſoon as they began to liſp, they were taught to ſing the exploits and victories of their anceſtors; their memories were ſtored with nothing but tales of warlike and piratical expeditions, of defeating their enemies, burning cities, plundering provinces, and of the wealth and glory acquired by brave exploits. With ſuch an education, it was no wonder that their youthful hearts ſoon began to beat high with martial ar-

[39] Northern Antiq. t. 1. c. 6.

[40] ——— Certe populi, quos deſpicit Arctos,
Felices errore ſuo! quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ. *Lucan, l.* 1.

dour; and that they early became impatient to graſp the ſword and ſpear, and to mingle with their fathers, brothers, and companions, in the bloody conflict. This they alſo knew was the only road to riches, honours, the ſmiles of the fair, and every thing that was deſirable. To all theſe motives to martial and piratical expeditions, ariſing from religion and education, another ſtill more powerful, if poſſible, was added. This was neceſſity, occaſioned by the barren uncultivated ſtate of their country; which obliged them to ſeek for thoſe proviſions by piracy and plunder abroad, which they could not find at home. The ſituation of their country alſo, conſiſting of iſlands, and of a great extent of ſea-coaſt on the continent, naturally led them to the ſtudy of maritime affairs, which have a direct tendency to make men hardy and courageous, familiar with toils and dangers. All theſe motives co-operating (which perhaps may never be again united), rendered the Danes of the middle ages a moſt fearleſs, undaunted, and warlike people, and gave their courage ſome remarkable properties, which merit a little of our attention.

Properties of the martial ſpirit of the Danes.

The valour of the Danes was boaſtful and audacious, attended with much preſumption and ſelf-confidence. This appeared by a degree of boldneſs and daring in their words and actions which to other nations would have ſeemed the greateſt raſhneſs. It was one of their martial laws,—"That a Dane who wiſhed to acquire "the character of a brave man, ſhould always

"attack

" attack two enemies, ſtand firm and receive " the attack of three, retire only one pace from " four, and fly from no fewer than five [41]." The hiſtories of thoſe times are full of examples of the moſt bold, deſperate, and often ſucceſsful, darings of the Danes; of which none is better atteſted, or more extraordinary, than the following one, which is related by many of our own writers. A bloody and obſtinate battle was fought near Stamford, 24th October A. D. 1066, between Harold king of England and Harald Harefager king of Norway, in which the Norwegians were at length obliged to retire, and the Engliſh began to purſue with great eagerneſs. But a total ſtop was put to their purſuit for ſeveral hours by the deſperate boldneſs of a ſingle man. This was a Dane of a gigantic ſtature, enormous ſtrength, and undaunted courage; who, taking his ſtation on Stamford bridge, killed no fewer than forty of the purſuers with his battle-axe, and was not killed at laſt but by a ſtratagem [42]. This high preſumptuous ſpirit of the Danes made them violent, vindictive, and impatient of the leaſt affront, or (in modern language) men of ſtrict and jealous honour. To call a Dane a *nithing*, was like ſetting fire to gunpowder, and inſtantly excited ſuch a flame of rage, as nothing but his own blood, or the blood of the offender, could extinguiſh [43]. By this

[41] Bartholin. Cauſæ Contemptæ a Danis Mortis, c. 7.
[42] W. Malmſ. in Harold. Brompton. p. 958.
[43] Bartholin. c. 7. Northern Antiq. c. 9.

means

means duels and ſingle combats were as frequent and bloody, and fought on almoſt as trifling occaſions, among the barbarous and Pagan Danes, as they are among the politeſt Chriſtians of the preſent age. It was the ſame ſpirit that rendered the Danes of this period intolerably haughty and inſolent to thoſe whom they had ſubdued, and made them exact the moſt humiliating tokens of ſubmiſſion from them. Some examples of the inſolence of the Danes to the Engliſh, while they were under their dominion, have been already given; to which ſeveral others might be added; but the following one will be ſufficient to convince the reader, that it was carried to the moſt capricious height. If an Engliſhman preſumed to drink in the preſence of a Dane, without his expreſs permiſſion, it was eſteemed ſo great a mark of diſreſpect, that nothing but his inſtant death could expiate. Nay, the Engliſh were ſo intimidated, that they would not adventure to drink even when they were invited, until the Danes had pledged their honour for their ſafety; which introduced the cuſtom of pledging each other in drinking; of which ſome veſtiges are ſtill remaining among the common people in the north of England, where the Danes were moſt predominant [44]. This inſolence of the Danes made ſo deep an impreſſion on the imaginations of the Engliſh, and was painted by them to their poſterity in ſuch lively colours, that for ſeveral

44 Pontopidan. Geſta et Veſtigia Danorum, t. 2. p. 209.

ages

ages after a proud imperious tyrant was called a *Lord Dane*[45].

The martial ſpirit of the Pagan Danes was attended with a moſt prodigious prodigality of life, and fondneſs for a violent death. The many ſtrange accounts that are given of this in their ancient hiſtories, would appear incredible, if they were not ſo well atteſted. On receiving mortal wounds in battle, they were ſo far from uttering groans and lamentations, or exhibiting any marks of fear or ſorrow, that they commonly began to laugh and ſing[46]. Theſe expreſſions of joy at the approach of a violent death, which were ſincere and unaffected, proceeded from the native and acquired boldneſs of their ferocious ſpirits,—from their ardent love of military fame,—and from the thoughts of thoſe endleſs ſcenes of fighting, feaſting, and carouſing, which they expected in the hall of Odin[47]. The ſurviving friends of thoſe who fell in battle, after having fought bravely, and killed a number of their enemies, were ſo far from bewailing their fate, that they rejoiced in their death, as an event equally happy to themſelves and honourable to their family. The famous Siward, a Daniſh earl of Northumberland, being told that his favourite ſon was killed in a battle againſt the Scots, aſked, with much anxiety, whether his wounds were behind or before? and being anſwered that they

Fondneſs of the Danes for a violent death.

45 Fabian Chron. c. 198.
46 Bartholin. c. 1, 2.
47 Id. ibid. l. 2. c. 11.

were

were all before, he cried out, in a tranſport of joy.—" Now I am perfectly happy! that was a " death worthy of me and my ſon[48]." Thoſe Daniſh warriors who had courted a violent death in many battles, and had been ſo unfortunate as not to find it, became unhappy and diſcontented at the approach of old age, full of the moſt dreadful apprehenſions that they ſhould die of ſome diſeaſe, and thereby be excluded from the ſociety of heroes, in the hall of Odin. To prevent this, they either perſuaded ſome of their friends to diſpatch them, or put a violent end to their own lives[49]. Starcather, a celebrated Daniſh captain, who had ſpent his whole life in arms and combats, was ſo unfortunate as not to meet with any perſon who had ſtrength and courage enough to beat out his brains. As ſoon as he obſerved his ſight begin to fail, he became very diſconſolate, and apprehenſive that he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to die in his bed. To avoid ſo great a calamity, he put a gold chain of conſiderable value about his neck, which he declared he would beſtow upon the firſt brave man he could meet with, who would do him the favour to cut off his head: nor was it long before he met with one who did him that friendly office, and won his chain[50]. Even after the Danes embraced the Chriſtian religion, and were thereby deprived of the religious motives to prefer a violent death, their warriors continued for ſome

48 Hen. Hunt. l. 6. c. 24. 49 Bartholin. l. 1. c. 4.

50 Id. ibid.

time

time to eſteem that the moſt deſirable kind of exit, and to abhor the thoughts of dying of lingering diſeaſes, and in their beds. Earl Siward, already mentioned (who was as good a Chriſtian as any Dane could be, who had ſpent his whole life in ſcenes of ſlaughter), being ſeized with a dyſentery in his old age, and ſenſible that his end was drawing near, felt much uneaſineſs about the manner of his death, of which he was quite aſhamed: "Alas! (ſaid he,) that I have "eſcaped death in ſo many battles, to yield up "my life in this tame diſgraceful manner, like "a cow! I beſeech you, my dear friends, dreſs "me in my impenetrable coat of mail, gird my "truſty ſword about my body, place my helmet "on my head, my ſhield in my left hand, and "my gilded battle-axe in my right, that I may "die in the dreſs at leaſt of a warrior, ſince I "cannot have the happineſs to die in battle." All this was done, and he expired with ſome degree of honour and ſatisfaction[51]. Chriſtianity, however, by degrees, abated this unnatural furious ſpirit of the Danes, made them leſs prodigal of life, and leſs fond of a violent death, to their own advantage, and the repoſe of the reſt of mankind.

Fondneſs for piratical expeditions.

The martial ſpirit of the Pagan Danes exerted and ſpent itſelf chiefly in piratical expeditions; to which they were exceedingly and univerſally addicted. This was owing to the ſituation of

[51] Bartholin. l. 1. c. 4. Hen. Hunt. l. 6. c. 26.

their country, and the ordinary progreſs of ſociety from the paſtoral to the predatory life. For nations are firſt hunters, then ſhepherds; and when their numbers are too much increaſed, to live by theſe employments, they next become robbers or pirates for ſome time, before they commence huſbandmen and manufacturers. Thus much at leaſt is certain, that the Danes were ſo univerſally a people of pirates, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, that a Dane and a pirate were ſynonymous terms in the languages of ſeveral nations, and particularly in that of the Anglo-Saxons [52]. In thoſe times all the men of Denmark conſtantly wore the dreſs of ſailors; and there were ſometimes greater numbers of Danes actually at ſea than on ſhore [53]. All theſe were engaged in piracy; which was purſued, not only by perſons of inferior rank, but by kings, princes, and nobles, as the moſt honourable of all profeſſions [54]. Some of theſe pirates acquired ſo much wealth and fame, and had ſuch numerous fleets at their command, that they were called *ſea-kings;* and though they were not maſters of one foot of land, made the greateſt nations and moſt powerful monarchs tremble [55]. "Helghi (ſays an ancient hiſtorian) was a hero "of invincible ſtrength and valour, and ſpent "his whole life in piracy. He plundered and "depopulated the coaſts of all the ſurrounding

52 Chron. Saxon. paſſim.
53 Northern Antiquit. t. 1. c. 10.
54 Id. ibid.
55 Bartholin. l. 2. c. 9.

"countries,

" countries, by his fleets, and juſtly acquired " the honourable title of a *ſea-king* [56]." The introduction of chriſtianity by degrees abated the violence, and at length aboliſhed the practice of piracy among the Danes, both of England and Scandinavia: for both the laws and actions of the Chriſtian pirates of this period were humane and gentle, in compariſon of thoſe of their Pagan predeceſſors [57].

Cruelty of the Danes.

The moſt pernicious property of the martial ſpirit of the Pagan Danes was its cruelty; which prompted them to many deeds of horror, and made them the dread and deteſtation of other nations. Theſe cruelties of the Danes are painted in the ſtrongeſt colours by our moſt ancient hiſtorians, who lived in or neareſt to thoſe times. " The cruel Guthrum (ſays one of theſe hiſto- " rians) arrived in England A. D. 878, at the " head of an army of Pagan Danes, no leſs cruel " than himſelf, who, like inhuman ſavages, de- " ſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword, in- " volving cities, towns, and villages, with their " inhabitants, in devouring flames; and cutting " thoſe in pieces with their battle-axes who " attempted to eſcape from their burning houſes. " The tears, cries, and lamentations of men, " women, and children, made no impreſſions " on their unrelenting hearts; even the moſt " tempting bribes, and the humbleſt offers of " becoming their ſlaves, had no effect. All the

[56] Sueno Agonis Hiſt. Den. c. 1.

[57] Bartholin. l. 2. c. 9.

" towns through which they paſſed exhibited " the moſt deplorable ſcenes of miſery and deſo- " lation; as, venerable old men lying with their " throats cut before their own doors; the ſtreets " covered with the bodies of young men and " children, without heads, legs, or arms; and " of matrons and virgins, who had been firſt " publicly diſhonoured, and then put to death [58]." It is ſaid to have been a common paſtime among theſe barbarians, to tear the infants of the Engliſh from the breaſts of their mothers, toſs them up into the air, and catch them on the point of their ſpears as they were falling down [59]. One Oliver, a famous pirate of thoſe times, was much celebrated for his humanity, and acquired the ſurname of *Barnakall*, or *child-preſerver*; becauſe he denied his followers this diverſion of toſſing infants on their ſpears [60]. Even after the Danes and Anglo-Saxons had embraced the Chriſtian religion, they long retained too great a tincture of their former ferocity. It is a ſufficient proof of this, that the horrid operation of ſcalping, eſteemed cruel in the ſavages of North America, was occaſionally performed by theſe nations on their enemies towards the end of this period. " Earl Godwin (ſays an ancient hiſtorian) inter- " cepted prince Alfred, the brother of Edward " the Confeſſor, at Gilford, in his way to Lon- " don, ſeized his perſon, and defeated his

58 J. Wallingford, apud Gale, t. 1. p. 536.
59 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 135. 60 Bartholin. l. 2. c. 9. p. 457.

" guards;

" guards; ſome of which he impriſoned, ſome " he ſold for ſlaves, ſome he blinded by pulling " out their eyes, ſome he maimed by cutting off " their hands and feet, ſome he tortured by " pulling off the ſkin of their heads, and, by " various torments, put about ſix hundred men to " death [61]."

Social diſpoſition of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were of a ſocial diſpoſition, and delighted much in forming themſelves into fraternities and gilds of various kinds, which were cemented by frequent convivial meetings and compotations. By the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, every freeman who was the head of a family was obliged to be a member of the decennary or neighbourſhip in which he dwelt; and all the members of the neighbourſhip were pledges for each others good behaviour to the public. This created a connection between them, and gave them an intereſt in each others concerns, quite unknown in the preſent times; and theſe ties of union were greatly ſtrengthened by their eating and drinking together at the common table of the neighbourſhip [62]. Beſides thoſe legal ſocieties, many voluntary ones were formed between perſons of ſimilar tempers, inclinations, and ways of life, for their mutual ſafety, comfort, and advantage. Some of theſe voluntary fraternities or *ſodolitia* were compoſed of eccleſiaſtics, and ſome of laymen, and ſome of both

[61] Hiſt. Elienſ. apud Gale, l. 2. c. 32.
[62] Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 693. c. 6.

clergy and laity; and the ſtatutes of all theſe different kinds are ſtill extant, and have been publiſhed [63]. From theſe ſtatutes, eſpecially of the lay fraternities, it appears, that one great object of them was, to promote good fellowſhip and frequent feſtive meetings among their members; for the forfeitures are generally appointed to be paid in honey and malt, to be made into mead and ale for the entertainment of the fraternity [64]. Theſe convivial aſſemblies, in which the Anglo-Saxons and Danes delighted ſo much, were productive of ſome good effects, and contributed to ſtrengthen the ties of friendſhip, and reſtrain their natural ferocity within ſome decent bounds; very ſevere fines being impoſed on thoſe who were guilty of giving offenſive language to any member of the fraternity at the common table, or neglected to perform any of thoſe friendly offices which were required by their ſtatutes [65]. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that the frequent feſtive meetings of theſe fraternities contributed very much to increaſe their vicious habits of exceſſive drinking, to which they were too much addicted. The very laws that were made by ſome of theſe fraternities to reſtrain exceſſes of this kind, are a ſufficient proof that they were allowed to go conſiderable lengths in this way, without incurring any blame; for theſe laws were made only againſt ſuch ſhame-

[63] Hickeſii Epiſt. Diſſertat. p. 20, 21, 22. [64] Id. ibid.
[65] Id. ibid. Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 16.

ful

ful degrees of intoxication as are not to be named [66].

Credulity of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

Both the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, and all the other nations of Europe in this dark period, were credulous to a degree that is quite aſtoniſhing. This is evident from every remaining monument of their hiſtory. What prodigious numbers of miracles do we meet with in every monkiſh chronicle; and how ridiculous are many of theſe miracles! The following one, which is related with much ſolemnity, as a moſt unqueſtionable fact, by William of Malmſbury, the moſt ſenſible of our ancient hiſtorians, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of theſe monkiſh miracles, though others ſtill more ridiculous might be produced. This miracle Malmſbury relates in the following manner, in the very words, as he ſays, of one of the perſons on whom it was wrought: "I Ethelbert, "a ſinner, will give a true relation of what hap- "pened to me on the day before Chriſtmas, "A. D. 1012, in a certain village where there "was a church dedicated to St. Magnus the "martyr, that all men may know the danger of "diſobeying the commands of a prieſt. Fifteen "young women, and eighteen young men, of "which I was one, were dancing and ſinging in "the church-yard, when one Robert, a prieſt, "was performing maſs in the church; who ſent "us a civil meſſage, intreating us to deſiſt from "our diverſion, becauſe we diſturbed his devo-

[66] Bartholin de Cauſis Contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, c. 8.

" tion by our noiſe. But we impiouſly diſre-
" garded his requeſt; upon which the holy
" man, inflamed with anger, prayed to God
" and St. Magnus, that we might continue
" dancing and ſinging a whole year without in-
" termiſſion. His prayers were heard. A young
" man, the ſon of a prieſt, named John, took
" his ſiſter, who was ſinging with us, by the
" hand, and her arm dropped from her body
" without one drop of blood following. But
" notwithſtanding this diſaſter, ſhe continued to
" dance and ſing with us a whole year. During
" all that time we felt no inconveniency from
" rain, cold, heat, hunger, thirſt, or wearineſs,
" and neither our ſhoes nor our clothes wore
" out. Whenever it began to rain, a magnifi-
" cent houſe was erected over us by the power
" of the Almighty. By our continual dancing we
" wore the earth ſo much, that by degrees we
" ſunk into it up to the knees, and at length up
" to the middle. When the year was ended,
" biſhop Hubert came to the place, diſſolved
" the inviſible ties by which our hands had been
" ſo long united, abſolved us, and reconciled us
" to St. Magnus. The prieſt's daughter, who
" had loſt her arm, and other two of the young
" women, died away immediately; but all the
" reſt fell into a profound ſleep, in which they
" continued three days and three nights; after
" which they aroſe, and went up and down
" the world, publiſhing this true and glorious
" miracle, and carrying the evidences of its
" truth

" truth along with them, in the continual ſhak-
" ing of their limbs[67]." A formal deed, relating the particulars, and atteſting the truth of this ridiculous ſtory, was drawn up and ſubſcribed by biſhop Peregrine, the ſucceſſor of Hubert, A. D. 1013; and we may be certain, that a fact ſo well atteſted was univerſally believed. Many of the monkiſh miracles in this period were as trifling as they were ridiculous, and pretended to be wrought for the moſt frivolous purpoſes. As the famous St. Dunſtan was one day celebrating maſs, a dove came down from heaven, and hovered over his head, which ſo much engaged the attention of all the people and clergy, that none of them had the preſence of mind to aſſiſt the ſaint in putting off his pontifical robes when maſs was ended. He therefore put them off himſelf; but inſtead of falling to the ground, they hung ſuſpended in the air, that the pious meditations of the holy man might not be diſturbed by their noiſe in falling[68]. Not a few of the miracles that were publiſhed by the monks, and believed by the people, of this period, were of the moſt pernicious and hurtful nature; eſpecially thoſe that were wrought by the Welſh ſaints, who were repreſented as more touchy and paſſionate than any other ſaints, even after they were in heaven[69]. Many other evidences might be produced, if it were neceſſary, of the extreme

67 W. Malmſ. p. 38. l. 2. c. 10.
68 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 77.
69 Girald. Cambrenſ. Itinerar. Cambriæ, l. 2. c. 7.

credulity

credulity of the people of England, and of all the other countries of Europe, beſides this of believing the moſt abſurd tales of ridiculous, frivolous, and pernicious miracles; for they received with equal readineſs the no leſs monſtrous relations of the monks concerning viſions, ghoſts, revelations, and inchantments. In a word, it ſeems to have been impoſſible for the prieſts of this period to invent any thing that the people would not believe upon their word.

Curioſity of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were as curious as they were credulous, and were at much expence and pains to penetrate into futurity, to diſcover what was to befall them, and what would be the iſſue of their various undertakings. This made them the dupes of thoſe wretches who pretended to be ſkilful in the arts of fortune-telling and divination, who were courted, careſſed, and rewarded, by the greateſt princes, as well as by the common people. Theſe admired magicians and fortune-tellers were commonly old women; for whom the Anglo-Saxons, as well as their anceſtors the ancient Germans, entertained a very great veneration, and in whom they imagined ſomething divine reſided [70]. As the Danes were more ignorant, and continued longer Pagans than the Engliſh; ſo they were ſtill greater dupes to thoſe wrinkled diſpenſers of good and bad fortune, who travelled with the retinue and ſtate of queens, and were every where treated with

[70] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 8.

the

the higheſt reſpect. One of them is thus deſcribed in an ancient Daniſh hiſtory: "There "was a certain old woman named *Heida*, who "was famous for her ſkill in divination and the "arts of magic, who frequented public entertainments, predicting what kind of weather "would be the year after, and telling men and "women their fortunes. She was conſtantly "attended by thirty men ſervants, and waited "upon by fifteen young maidens[71]." Princes and great men, when they invited theſe venerable hags to their houſes, to conſult them about the ſucceſs of their deſigns, the fortunes of themſelves and children, or any future event which they deſired to know, made great preparations for their honourable reception, and entertained them in the moſt reſpectful manner. This and ſeveral other curious particulars, relating to the manners of thoſe times, appear from the following genuine deſcription of one of theſe interviews. "There was in the ſame country an old "woman named *Thorbiorga*, the only ſurvivor "of nine ſiſters, fortune-tellers, who was very "famous for her knowledge of futurity, and "frequented public entertainments for the exer-"ciſe of her art when ſhe was invited. Earl "Thorchill, who had the greateſt authority in "that country, and was moſt deſirous to know "when the famine and ſickneſs, which then "raged, would come to an end, ſent meſſen-

[71] Bartholin. l. 3. c. 4. p. 688.

"gers

" gers to invite Thorbiorga to his houſe, after " he had made all the preparations which were " uſual for the reception of ſuch an honourable " gueſt. In particular, a ſeat was prepared for " the propheteſs, raiſed ſome ſteps above the " other ſeats, and covered with a cuſhion ſtuffed " with hens' feathers. When ſhe arrived on an " evening, conducted by the meſſengers, ſhe was " dreſſed in a gown of green cloth, buttoned " from top to bottom; had a ſtring of glaſs " beads about her neck, and her head covered " with the ſkin of a black lamb, lined with the " ſkin of a white cat: her ſhoes were made of a " calf's ſkin, with the hair on it, tied with " thongs, and faſtened with braſs buttons: on " her hands ſhe had a pair of gloves of a white " cat's ſkin, with the fur inward: about her " waiſt ſhe wore a Hunlandic girdle, at which " hung a bag, containing her magical inſtru- " ments; and ſhe ſupported her feeble limbs by " leaning on a ſtaff adorned with many knobs " of braſs. As ſoon as ſhe entered the hall, the " whole company aroſe, as it became them, and " ſaluted her in the moſt reſpectful manner; " which ſhe returned as ſhe thought proper. " Earl Thorchill then advanced, and taking her " by the hand, conducted her to the ſeat pre- " pared for her. After ſome time ſpent in con- " verſation, a table was ſet before her covered " with many diſhes; but ſhe eat only of a pot- " tage of goat's milk, and of a diſh which con- " ſiſted of the hearts of various animals. When

" the

" the table was removed, Thorchill humbly " approached the propheteſs, and aſked her " what ſhe thought of his houſe, and of his fa- " mily; and when ſhe would be pleaſed to tell " them what they deſired to know. To this ſhe " replied, that ſhe would tell them nothing that " evening, but would ſatisfy them fully next " day. Accordingly, on the day after, when ſhe " had put all her implements of divination in " proper order, ſhe commanded a maiden " named *Godreda*, to ſing the magical ſong called " *Vardlokur;* which ſhe did with ſo clear and " ſweet a voice that the whole company were " raviſhed with her muſic, and none ſo much as " the propheteſs; who cried out, Now I know " many things concerning this famine and ſick- " neſs which I did not know before. This famine " will be of ſhort continuance, and plenty will " return with the next ſeaſon, which will be " favourable; and the ſickneſs alſo will ſhortly " fly away. As for you, my lovely maid God- " reda, you ſhall be married to a nobleman of " the higheſt rank, and become the happy mother " of a numerous and flouriſhing family. After " this the whole company approached the " propheteſs one by one, and aſked her what " queſtions they pleaſed, and ſhe told them " every thing that they deſired to know[72]." What a ſtriking picture is this of the moſt eager curioſity and unſuſpecting ſimplicity on the one

[72] Erin's Rauga Saga, apud Bartholin. p. 691.

hand,

hand, and of the moſt conſummate cunning on the other! After the Anglo-Saxons and Danes embraced the Chriſtian religion, their veneration for the perſons, and confidence in the predictions, of theſe impoſtors, gradually diminiſhed; for the Chriſtian clergy were commanded by the canons, "to preach very frequently againſt diviners, ſorcerers, auguries, omens, charms, incantations, and all the filth of the wicked, and dotages of the Gentiles[73]." By the laws of the church very heavy penances, and by the laws of the ſtate very ſevere puniſhments, were inflicted both on thoſe who practiſed theſe deluſive arts, and on thoſe who conſulted them[74].

Hoſpitality of the Anglo-Saxons.

Hoſpitality may be juſtly reckoned among the national virtues of the Anglo-Saxons. This virtue they derived from their anceſtors the ancient Germans: "For in ſocial entertainments and hoſpitality, no nation was ever more liberal. They received all comers without exception into their houſes, and entertained them in the beſt manner their circumſtances could afford. When all their proviſions were conſumed, they conducted their gueſts to the next houſe, without any invitation, where they were received with the ſame frankneſs, and entertained with the ſame generoſity[75]." After the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons to Chriſtianity, their natural

73 Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 747. c. 3.
74 Spelman. Concil. t. 1. p. 294—515.
75 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 21.

diſpo-

diſpoſitions to hoſpitality were encouraged and ſtrengthened by religious motives; for the Anglo-Saxon clergy were commanded by the canons to practiſe hoſpitality themſelves, and to recommend the practice of it very frequently and earneſtly to their people[76]. The Engliſh kings in this period ſpent a conſiderable portion of their revenues in entertaining ſtrangers, and their own nobility and clergy, particularly at the three great feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide[77]. The Engliſh nobility, in imitation of their princes, conſumed the greateſt part of their large eſtates in a rude abundant kind of hoſpitality; of which all who thought proper were welcome to partake[78]. Monaſteries, in thoſe times, were a kind of public-houſes, where travellers and ſtrangers of all ranks were lodged and entertained.

Their chaſtity and conjugal fidelity.

Chaſtity in their youth, and conjugal fidelity after marriage, may alſo be numbered among the national virtues of the Anglo-Saxons. Their anceſtors, the ancient Germans, were famous for both theſe virtues. "The intercourſe between "the ſexes among them did not commence till "both had arrived at full maturity of age and "ſtrength. The laws of matrimony were ob- "ſerved with great ſtrictneſs. Examples of "adultery were extremely rare, and puniſhed with "much ſeverity. The huſband of an adultereſs,

76 Spelman. Concil. t. 1. p 276. 601.
77 Anglia Sacra. t. 2. p. 199. 78 W. Malmſ. p. 58.

"in

" in the preſence of her relations, cut off her " hair, ſtripped her almoſt naked, turned her " out of his houſe, and whipped her from one " end of the village to the other. A woman " who had been thus expoſed, never recovered " her character; and neither youth, beauty, nor " riches, could ever procure her another huſ- " band [79]." The Anglo-Saxons were much confirmed in theſe virtues which they derived from their anceſtors, by the precepts of Chriſtianity, after they embraced that religion. It cannot, however, be denied, that the imprudent zeal of the Chriſtian clergy, in attempting to carry this virtue to a greater height than the laws of nature, and the good of ſociety, will admit, had a very bad effect on the manners of the people, eſpecially of the eccleſiaſtics, in this reſpect. By endeavouring to preſerve virginity, they deſtroyed chaſtity, and gave birth to many unnatural vices, which muſt not be mentioned [80]. The Daniſh ſoldiers, who were quartered upon the Engliſh in the reigns of Athelſtan, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, being idle, inſolent, and debauched, corrupted many of the Engliſh women, both married and unmarried, by dreſſing better than the Engliſhmen, and by other arts [81]. By theſe and ſome other means, this virtue declined ſo much among the people of England, that before the end of this period very few veſtiges of

79 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 18, 19, 20.

80 Vide Wilkenſii Concilia, t. 1. p. 118, &c.

81 Chron. Wallingford, apud Gale, t. 1. p. 547.

their ancient innocence and modeſty remained; and this diſſolution of manners is repreſented, both by the hiſtorians and divines of thoſe times, as one of the chief cauſes of their ruin [82].

Fondneſs for their families and relations.

The Anglo-Saxons, as well as their anceſtors the ancient Germans, were remarkable for the warmth of their affections to their family and relations [83]. But theſe affections, which are ſo amiable when kept within due bounds, were by them carried to exceſs; and every family or clan formed a kind of combination, which adopted all the paſſions and proſecuted all the quarrels, of its particular members, however unjuſt and lawleſs, not againſt the offender only, but againſt his whole family. This gave occaſion to family feuds and bickerings, which were attended with manifold inconveniencies. To reſtrain theſe private wars between great families, which diſturbed the public tranquillity, and prevented the regular courſe of juſtice, many laws were made, particularly by king Edmund, who reigned from A. D. 940 to A. D. 946 [84]. By one of theſe laws it is declared, that a murderer ſhall alone be obnoxious to the reſentment of the relations of him whom he had murdered, and not his whole family, as formerly; and that if any of theſe relations take vengeance on any other than the murderer, he ſhall forfeit all his goods, and

82 W. Malmſ. p. 58. Sermo Lupi, apud Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 102.

83 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 21.

84 Wilkins Leges Saxonicæ, p. 73.

be profecuted as an enemy to the king and all his friends. By another, a method is fettled for compromifing all difputes between the family of the murderer and that of the perfon killed, in an amicable manner. Thefe and other laws, together with the great calamities which befel the Engliſh in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, and deſtroyed many noble families, ſo much relaxed the ties of blood, that biſhop Lupus, who flouriſhed towards the end of that unhappy reign, complains,—"That in his time relations had "little more attachment to one another than to "ſtrangers; and that the natural affection of "parents to children, and of children to pa-"rents, and of brothers to each other, was very "much diminiſhed[85]." So much did the manners of the Engliſh change in this particular in the courſe of this period!

Vices of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Engliſh reader, it is hoped, will not be much offended, though he is not preſented in this place with a very minute detail of the vices of his anceſtors. There ſeems to be no neceſſity for this; and as it is an unpleaſant ſubject, it ſhall be diſpatched in as few words as poſſible.

Frequent murders.

We have good reaſon to believe, that bloodſhed and murder were very frequent among a people ſo brave, fierce, and paſſionate, as the Anglo-Saxons and Danes; eſpecially when we conſider, that they were always armed; and that a certain price was ſet upon the limbs and lives

[85] Sermo Lupi, apud Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 101.

of

of all the members of ſociety, from the ſovereign to the ſlave [86].

The great propenſity of the Saxons, and the ſtill greater propenſity of the Danes, to piracy, hath been already mentioned. Both theſe nations were alſo much addicted to theft and robbery. This appears from every part of their hiſtory, and is evident from all their laws, which contain a prodigious number of regulations for preventing or puniſhing theſe crimes [87]. Theft.

The prodigious multiplicity of oaths among the Anglo-Saxons greatly diminiſhed their ſolemnity, and gave occaſion to much perjury; which is repreſented by their own writers as one of their national vices [88]. This multiplicity of oaths in criminal cauſes was owing to the great number of compurgators required by law, which in ſome caſes amounted to forty or fifty. In civil cauſes, each party endeavoured to bring as great a number of witneſſes as poſſible into the field, which were drawn up like two little armies, conſiſting ſometimes of a thouſand on one ſide [89]. Perjury.

Bribing judges, and even kings, to influence them in their deciſions of law-ſuits, ſeems to have been a very common practice among the Anglo-Saxons in this period, eſpecially towards Bribery.

86 Sermo Lupi, apud Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 101.
87 Wilkins Leges Saxonicæ, paſſim.
88 Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 104, 105.
89 Hiſtoria Elienſis, c. 35.

its concluſion. Many of theſe infamous tranſactions are related by our ancient hiſtorians as common occurrences, without the leaſt mark of ſurpriſe or diſapprobation[90]. Nay, Edward the Confeſſor, notwithſtanding all his boaſted ſanctity, is not aſhamed to mention (in an award of his which is ſtill extant) a handſome bribe which he had received from one of the parties, as one of the grounds of his deciſion[91].

Tyranny and oppreſſion.

Tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion of their inferiors, were prevailing vices of the great men among the Danes and Anglo-Saxons towards the end of this period, when a kind of ariſtocracy had taken place. "The poor and indigent are "circumvented and cruelly treated; nay, their "own perſons, and thoſe of their children, are "often ſeized by force, and ſold for ſlaves. Wi"dows are unjuſtly compelled to marry con"trary to their inclinations; or if they refuſe, "are cruelly oppreſſed, and reduced to mi"ſery[92]." As the Godwin family, in particular, had become too great for ſubjects; ſo the ſons of that family were guilty of the moſt outrageous acts of cruelty and oppreſſion. "When they beheld any country-ſeat that "pleaſed their fancy, they gave directions to "their followers to murder the proprietor of it "and his whole family, in the night, and then "obtained a grant of the houſe and the eſtate.

90 Hiſt. Ramſien. c. 114. Hiſt. Elienſis, c. 42.
91 Hiſt. Ramſien. c. 113. 92 Hickeſii Epiſt. Diſſertat. p. 100.

"Yet

" Yet theſe were the men who were the judges " and rulers of the land [93]."

Intemperance and exceſs in eating and drinking are acknowledged by all their ancient writers to have been the moſt prevailing vices both of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes. " The nobility " (ſays William of Malmſbury) were much ad- " dicted to luſt and gluttony; but exceſſive " drinking was the common vice of all ranks " of people, in which they ſpent whole nights " and days without intermiſſion [94]." All their meetings terminated in riotous exceſſive drinking, not excepting even their religious feſtivals; on which they uſed to drink large draughts of liquor, to the honour of Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, the apoſtles, and other ſaints [95]. Thus, when king Edmund I. celebrated the feſtival of St. Auguſtin, the apoſtle of the Engliſh, at Puckle church in Glouceſterſhire, 26th May A. D. 946, with all his courtiers and nobility, they were ſo overpowered with liquor, that they beheld their ſovereign engaged in a diſgraceful ſtruggle with a lawleſs ruffian, by whom he was at laſt murdered, without having either ſtrength or preſence of mind to give him the leaſt aſſiſtance [96]. Edgar the Peaceable, who mounted the throne about nine years after the death of Edmund, endeavoured to give ſome check to theſe

Intemperance in eating and drinking.

93 Hen. Hunt. l. 6. p. 210. 94 W. Malmſ. l. 3. p. 58.
95 Bartholin. l. 2. c. 12. Northern Antiquities, t. 1. p. 311.
96 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 7.

ſhameful exceſſes, which were productive of many miſchiefs. One of his regulations to this purpoſe is ſo curious that it merits a place in hiſtory. It was the cuſtom in thoſe times, that a whole company drunk out of one large veſſel, which was handed about from one to another, every one drinking as much as he thought proper. This cuſtom occaſioned frequent quarrels, ſome alleging, that others drank a greater quantity of the liquor than fell to their ſhare; and at other times ſome of the company compelling others to drink more than they inclined. To prevent theſe quarrels, Edgar commanded the drinking-veſſels to be made with knobs of braſs, or ſome other metal, at certain diſtances from each other; and decreed, that no perſon, under a certain penalty, ſhould either drink himſelf, or compel another to drink, more than from one of theſe knobs or pegs to another, at one draught [97]. This ſhows in what a ſerious light drinking was viewed, even by government, in this period. Many other laws of drinking may be ſeen in the work quoted below [98].

Theſe vices not univerſal.

But it is now time to put an end to this unpleaſant ſubject, which I ſhall finiſh with the candid obſervation of the moſt ſenſible and impartial of our ancient hiſtorians, at the concluſion of his character of the Anglo-Saxons. "Though theſe vices were too general, they

97 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 8. p. 31.

98 Bartholin. de Cauſis Contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, p. 133, &c.

"were

" were not univerſal. For I know that many " of the Engliſh clergy in thoſe times purſued " the plain paths of piety and virtue; and that " not a few of the laity of all ranks pleaſed God " by their converſations. Let no man there- " fore be diſpleaſed with what I have ſaid, ſince " I have not involved the innocent and guilty in " the ſame diſgrace[99]."

Remarkable cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

So many of the remarkable cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes who inhabited England in this period, have been occaſionally mentioned in this and the preceding chapters of this book, that little remains to be ſaid on that ſubject in this place. That the reader, however, may not be diſappointed in his expectations, it may not be improper to take notice, in a few words,—of their modes of addreſs, and expreſſions of reſpect and civility,—their manner of treating the fair ſex,—their ceremonies of marriage, their methods of education,—rites of ſepulture,—cuſtoms in peace and war,—the retinues and equipages of the great, &c.

Rude and unpoliſhed in their addreſs.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes appear to have been no great admirers of a reſpectful polite addreſs, but rather rude and haughty in their deportment. This is acknowledged by their own writers, who frankly confeſs, that the French in thoſe times very much excelled them, and all the other nations of Europe, in politeneſs and elegance of manners[100]. They repreſent it as a

99 W. Malmſ. l. 3. p. 57.

100 Id. l. 2. c. 1.

fortunate circumſtance in the life of Egbert, the firſt Engliſh monarch, and alſo of the celebrated St. Dunſtan, that they had both reſided ſome time in France, and had there acquired an eaſy engaging addreſs, quite unknown in their own country [101]. The Welſh appear to have been equally unpoliſhed in this period, ſince there was a neceſſity for making a law, that none of the courtiers ſhould give the queen a blow, or ſnatch any thing with violence out of her hands, under the penalty of forfeiting her majeſty's protection [102]. It would be eaſy to produce many examples of rudeneſs and indelicacy that were eſtabliſhed by law, and practiſed even in courts of juſtice (if they were not unbecoming the purity that ought to be obſerved in hiſtory), which would hardly be believed in the preſent age. That example of this which the learned reader will find below, in the Latin language, will be a ſufficient ſpecimen, and would not have found a place here, if it had not been already publiſhed by a reverend and reſpectable author, after mature deliberation [103]. But though the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Welſh, and other nations who inhabited Britain in this period, were in general indelicate and unpoliſhed in their

101 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 1. J. Wallingford, apud Gale, l. 1. p. 543.

102 Leges Wallicæ, p. 11. l. 1. c. 8.

103 Si mulier ſtuprata lege cum viro agere velit, et ſi vir factum pernegaverit, mulier, membro virili ſiniſtra prehenſo, et dextra reliquiis ſanctorum impoſita, juret ſuper illas, quod is per vim ſe iſto membro vitiaverit. *Leges Wallicæ, p.* 85.

manners;

manners; yet we may be certain, that inferiors approached their ſuperiors with geſtures which expreſſed ſubmiſſion; that perſons of condition accoſted each other with tokens of reſpect, and relations with marks of friendſhip. For all theſe affections and feelings being natural to mankind, the expreſſions of them are alſo natural and univerſal. We have already ſeen the humiliating tokens of ſubmiſſion which the imperious Danes exacted from the Engliſh, with which it is probable all ſlaves approached their maſters; and many examples of friends kiſſing and embracing each other at meeting occur in the hiſtory of thoſe times [104]. As both the Anglo-Saxons and Danes were exceedingly ſuperſtitious, the clergy were the chief objects of their veneration; and we ſometimes hear of kings, queens, and nobles, kneeling, and even proſtrating themſelves on the ground, before their ſpiritual guides, to receive their commands or benedictions [105].

Reſpectful behaviour to the fair ſex.

The Engliſh in this period treated the fair ſex with a degree of attention and reſpect which could hardly have been expected from a people ſo unpoliſhed in their manners. This way of thinking and acting they undoubtedly derived from their anceſtors the ancient Germans; who not only admired and loved their women on account of their perſonal charms; but entertained a kind of religious veneration for them as the peculiar favourites of heaven, and conſulted

[104] Eddius Vita Wilfredi, c. 50. 58.

[105] Id. c. 50.

them

them as oracles [106]. Agreeable to this, we find ſome of the Anglo-Saxon ladies were admitted into their moſt auguſt aſſemblies, and great attention paid to their opinions; and ſo conſiderable was their influence in the moſt important affairs, that they were the chief inſtruments of introducing the Chriſtian religion into almoſt all the kingdoms of the heptarchy [107]. Many of the Anglo-Saxon ladies of the higheſt rank were inrolled among their ſaints, and became the objects of the ſuperſtitious veneration of their countrymen [108]. A great number of laws were made to ſecure the rights, protect the perſons, and defend the honour of the fair ſex from all inſults: they were courted with no little gallantry, and many brave exploits performed with a view to gain their favour [109]. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the Engliſh ladies, eſpecially thoſe of the higheſt rank, were involved in a temporary diſgrace and degradation towards the end of the eighth century. This was occaſioned by the baſe and criminal conduct of Eadburga, the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, and queen of Beorthric king of Weſſex; who, after having committed many horrid crimes, at length poiſoned her huſband, and a young nobleman who was his favourite, with one potion; which excited ſuch a violent and univerſal indignation

106 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 8.
107 Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25.
108 See Chap. 2. W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 13.
109 Wilkins Leges Saxonicæ. Northern Antiquit. vol. 1. c. 12.

againſt

againſt her, that ſhe was obliged to make her eſcape to the continent. The people of Weſſex, finding that they could not execute their vengeance on the perſon of the offender, teſtified their reſentment, by making a law, "That "none of the kings of Weſſex ſhould from "thenceforward permit their conſorts to be "crowned, to ſit with them on the throne, or "to enjoy the name of queen[110]." But Aſſerius, who relates this tranſaction at great length, as he had received it from the mouth of his maſter Alfred the Great, expreſſes his diſapprobation of this law in the ſtrongeſt terms, declaring it to be a moſt perverſe and deteſtable law, directly contrary to the cuſtoms of all thoſe nations who were deſcended from the ancient Germans. He obſerves further, that this law was not long obſerved. For Ethelwolf, the ſecond monarch of England, having married Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald king of France, placed her on the throne, in direct oppoſition to the barbarous cuſtom which had for ſome time prevailed in his country, without incurring the diſpleaſure of his ſubjects[111]. The wives of the Engliſh nobility, who had ſhared in the diſgraces of the royal conſorts, gradually recovered their former dignity and influence in ſociety, which was at leaſt as great in England in this period as in any country of Europe[112].

[110] Aſſer. Vita Ælfridi, p. 3.
[111] Id. ibid.
[112] Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 25.

The

Marriage-ceremonies.

The legal ceremonies and cuſtoms in contracting marriages among the Anglo-Saxons have been already mentioned[113]; and therefore nothing now remains but to take notice of a few of the arbitrary faſhions and changing ceremonies with which the celebration of their marriages was commonly attended. But theſe faſhions and ceremonies being regulated by fancy and caprice, rather than by law, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they were either conſtant or univerſal. As the marriage was always celebrated at the houſe of the bridegroom, and all the expence and trouble of it was devolved on him, he was allowed a conſiderable time to make the neceſſary preparations. It was not, however, eſteemed gallant or faſhionable to allow more than ſix or ſeven weeks to elapſe between the time of contracting and the celebration of the marriage. On the day before the wedding, all the friends and relations of the bridegroom having been invited, arrived at his houſe, and ſpent the time in feaſting, and in preparing for the approaching ceremony. Next morning the bridegroom's company mounted on horſeback, completely armed, and proceeded in great ſtate and order, under the command of one who was called the *forewiſtaman*, or *foremoſt man*, to receive and conduct the bride in ſafety to the houſe of her future huſband. The company proceeded in this martial array to do honour to the

[113] See Chap. 3. p. 393—398.

bride,

bride, and to prevent her being intercepted and carried off by any of her former lovers. The bride in this proceſſion was attended by her guardian and other male relations, led by a matron who was called the *bride's-woman*, and followed by a company of young maidens, who were called the *bride's-maids*. She was received by the bridegroom at her arrival, and ſolemnly betrothed to him by her guardian in a ſet form of words [114]. After this ceremony was performed, the bridegroom, the bride, and their united companies, went in proceſſion to the church, attended with muſic, where they received the nuptial benediction from a prieſt. This was in ſome places given under the nuptial veil, which was a ſquare piece of cloth, ſupported by a tall man at each corner over the bridegroom and bride, to conceal her virgin bluſhes [115]. When the bride was a widow, the veil was never uſed, as being eſteemed unneceſſary. After the nuptial benediction was given, both the bridegroom and bride were crowned by the prieſt with crowns made of flowers, which were kept in the church for that purpoſe [116]. Marriages, on that account, and for ſeveral other reaſons, were moſt commonly celebrated in the ſummer ſeaſon. When theſe ceremonies were finiſhed, the whole company returned in proceſſion to the bridegroom's houſe, and ſat down

114 See Chap. 3. p. 396.

115 Muratori, t. 2. p. 111.

116 Olai Magni, p. 553.

to the nuptial feaſt; which was as ſumptuous and abundant as the entertainer could afford. The afternoon and evening were ſpent by the youth of both ſexes in mirth and dancing, moſt commonly in the open air; and by the reſt of the company in carouſing, in which they very much delighted. At night the bride was conducted by her women-attendants to her apartment, and placed in the marriage bed; and ſoon after the bridegroom was conducted by the men in the ſame manner; and having both drunk of the marriage cup with all who were preſent, the whole company retired. The wedding-dreſſes of the bride and three of her maidens, and of the bridegroom and three of his attendants, were of a peculiar colour and faſhion, and could not be uſed on any other occaſion. Theſe dreſſes, therefore, were anciently the perquiſite of the minſtrels or muſicians who had attended the wedding; but afterwards, when the minſtrels fell into diſgrace, they were commonly given to ſome church or monaſtery [117]. Next morning the whole company aſſembled in the apartment of the new-married pair before they aroſe, to hear the huſband declare the *morgægife*, or *morning-gift*; and a competent number of his relations became ſureties to the relations of his wife, that he would perform what he promiſed [118]. The feaſtings and rejoicings continued ſeveral days after the marriage, and ſeldom ended till all

[117] Stiernhoök, l. 2. c. 1. p. 165. [118] Id. ibid.

the

the proviſions were conſumed. To indemnify the huſband in ſome degree for all theſe expences, the relations of both parties made him ſome preſent or other at their departure [119].

Mothers nurſed their own children.

When marriages proved fruitful, the mothers generally nurſed their own children. This laudable practice doth not ſeem to have been quite univerſal among the Anglo-Saxon ladies of high rank, even in the former part of this period; for pope Gregory, in his letter to St. Auguſtin, the apoſtle of the Engliſh, ſays, "A certain "wicked cuſtom hath ariſen among married peo- "ple, that ſome ladies refuſe to nurſe the chil- "dren whom they have brought forth, but de- "liver them to other women to be nurſed [120]."

Names and ſurnames.

It is ſaid to have been the cuſtom of the Anglo-Saxons to give their children names as ſoon as they were born; and theſe names were all expreſſive of ſome great or good quality [121]. Surnames, or family-names, were not in uſe among the Engliſh in this period, or at leaſt not till the reign of Edward the Confeſſor [122]. But as ſeveral perſons who lived near to each other ſometimes had the ſame proper name, it became neceſſary, in converſation and writing, in order to diſtinguiſh the perſon of whom they ſpoke and wrote, to add ſome word to his name deſcriptive of his perſon, diſpoſition, &c.; as, *the Long*,—

119 Stiernhoök, l. 2. c. 1. p. 165.
120 Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 17.
121 Camden's Remains, p. 45. 55. &c. Verſtigan, c. 8.
122 Id. ibid. p. 110.

the

the Black,—*the White*,—*the Good*,—*the Peaceable*,—*the Unready*, &c. This word, by being conſtantly added to his name, became a kind of ſecondary name; but did not deſcend to his poſterity, nor become the ſurname of his family [123]. Sometimes a particular perſon was diſtinguiſhed from others of the ſame name, by adding the name of the place where he dwelt, or the name of his father, and by ſeveral other ways [124]. It may however be obſerved, that thoſe words which in this period were uſed as a kind of nicknames to diſtinguiſh particular perſons of the ſame proper names from each other, in the next period became family-names, and deſcended to the poſterity of theſe perſons, who probably reſembled them in theſe particulars; and from theſe words many of our modern ſurnames are derived [125]. By ſuch ſlow and inſenſible degrees are the moſt prevailing cuſtoms eſtabliſhed.

Trial of children's courage.

As the Anglo-Saxons admired valour and intrepidity above all other qualities, they were very anxious to diſcover whether their ſons would be poſſeſſed of them or not; and had various methods of putting their courage to the trial even in their infancy. The following is ſaid to have been one of the moſt common of thoſe modes of trial. Upon a certain day appointed for that purpoſe, the family and friends being aſſembled, the father placed his infant ſon on the

123 Camden's Remains, p. 110. Verſtigan, c. 8.
124 Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 23. Verſtigan, c. 9.
125 Verſtigan, c. 9.

ſlanting

ſlanting ſide of the roof of his houſe, and there left him. If the child began to cry, and appeared to be afraid of falling, the ſpectators were much dejected, and prognoſticated that he would be a coward; but if he clung boldly to the thatch; and diſcovered no marks of fear, they were tranſported with joy, and pronounced that he would prove a *ſtoutherce*, i. e. a brave warrior [126].

Methods of education.

The Anglo-Saxons being a rude and fierce people at their arrival in Britain, and for ſeveral ages after, it is not to be imagined that they educated their children in a tender and delicate manner, of which they had no ideas, and which would have been very improper for the courſe of life for which they were deſigned. Like their anceſtors the ancient Germans, perſons even of the higheſt rank accuſtomed their children to encounter dangers, and to bear cold, hunger, pain, and labour, from their very infancy, that they might be fitted for hunting, which was to be their chief diverſion; and war, which was to be their chief employment [127]. Letters were ſeldom thought of as any part of the education of the children of the greateſt families. When Alfred the Great, the fourth ſon of king Ethelwulf, was twelve years of age, neither he, nor any of his three elder brothers, could read one word of their native language; and it was by a kind of

126 Howel's General Hiſtory, part 4. p. 335.
127 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 20.

accident, rather than any formed deſign, that theſe princes were afterwards taught to read; though much pains had been taken about their education, and they had been inſtructed with the greateſt care, in hunting, riding, and all martial exerciſes[128]. It is alſo obſerved by Aſſerius, as one of the greateſt changes introduced by his hero Alfred the Great, that his youngeſt ſon Ethelwerd, who was deſigned for the church, was taught to read before he was taught to hunt[129]. In a word, the Anglo-Saxon and Daniſh youth enjoyed much freedom, and were allowed to ſpend their time in rural ſports and martial exerciſes; which contributed not a little to increaſe their ſtrength, agility, and courage, and fit them for the toils of war.

Rites of ſepulture.

The people of Germany and Scandinavia diſtinguiſhed the different periods of their hiſtory by the different rites of ſepulture which prevailed in theſe periods. In the moſt ancient period they burnt their dead, which was therefore called *burna olld*, or *the age of burning;* in the ſucceeding period they buried their dead without burning, and raiſed heaps of ſtones or earth over their bodies, which was therefore called *haugs olld*, or *the age of hillocks*[130]. Though the end of the firſt, and commencement of the ſecond of theſe periods, are not diſtinctly marked; yet it ſeems to have taken place before the arrival of

[128] Aſſer. Vita Ælfredi, p. 8. [129] Id. p. 13.
[130] Bartholin. l. 1. c. 8.

the

the Saxons and Danes in Britain, who generally, if not always, buried their dead without burning, and raiſed barrows over them to perpetuate their memory. Thus when Hubba, a famous Daniſh chieftain, was ſlain in battle by the Engliſh, A. D. 878, his followers buried his body, and raiſed a prodigious mount of earth over it, which they called *Hubbaſtow* or *the place of Hubba* [131]. Though this mount is now ſwept away by the ſea, yet the place on the ſtrand near Appledore in Devonſhire, where it once ſtood, is ſtill known by the name of *Whibbleſtow* [132]. When they depoſited the body on the ground, and began to cover it with earth, the whole company made the loudeſt and moſt bitter lamentations [133]. It was ſo much the cuſtom of the Anglo-Saxons to lay the bodies of their dead on the ſurface of the ground, and cover them with ſtones and earth, that they did this even when they buried them in churches; and the floors of ſome churches were ſo much encumbered with theſe little mounts, that they became quite unfit for the celebration of divine ſervice, and were on that account abandoned [134]. The inconveniencies of this ancient practice were at length ſo ſenſibly felt, that ſeveral canons were made againſt burying any in churches, except prieſts, or ſaints, or ſuch as paid very well for that privilege; and

[131] Brompton, col. 809.

[132] Dr. Borlaſe's Cornwall, p. 221. [133] Brompton, col. 809.

[134] Wilkins's Concilia, t. 1. p. 268. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 994. c. 9.

obliging thoſe that were buried in them to be depoſited in graves of a proper depth under the pavement[135]. The houſe in which a dead body lay before it was buried, was a ſcene of continued feaſting, ſinging, dancing, and all kinds of gambols and diverſions, which occaſioned no ſmall expence to the family of the deceaſed[136]. In ſome places of the north, they kept the dead unburied, till they had conſumed all the wealth which he had left behind him in theſe games and feaſtings[137]. This cuſtom had prevailed in the times of Paganiſm, and was diſcouraged by the church; but it was too agreeable to their exceſſive fondneſs for feaſting and riot to be ſoon abandoned. The manner of preparing the body, and the funeral proceſſion of the famous Wilfred, archbiſhop of York, who died at Oundle in Northamptonſhire A. D. 708, and was buried at Rippon, are thus deſcribed by his hiſtorian Eddius: "Upon a certain day, many abbots "and clergy met thoſe who conducted the "corpſe of the holy biſhop in a herſe, and "earneſtly begged that they might be allowed to "waſh the ſacred body, and dreſs it honourably "according to its dignity; and they obtained "permiſſion. Then one of the abbots, named "*Bacula*, ſpreading his ſurplice on the ground, "the brethren depoſited the holy body upon it, "waſhed it with their own hands, dreſſed it in

[135] Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 994. c. 9. [136] Id. A. D. 957. c. 3.
[137] Vita Ælfredi a Spelmanno, Append. 6. p. 208.

"the

" the pontifical habits; and then taking it up,
" carried it towards the appointed place, ſinging
" pſalms and hymns in the fear of God. Hav-
" ing advanced a little, they again depoſited the
" corpſe, pitched a tent over it, bathed the
" ſacred body in pure water, dreſſed it in robes
" of fine linen, placed it in the herſe, and pro-
" ceeded, ſinging pſalms, towards the mona-
" ſtery of Rippon. When they approached that
" monaſtery, the whole family of it came out to
" meet them, bearing the holy relics. Of all this
" numerous company there was hardly one who
" abſtained from tears; and all raiſing their voices,
" and joining in hymns and ſongs, they conducted
" the body into the church, which the holy biſhop
" had built, and dedicated to St. Peter, and there
" depoſited it in the moſt ſolemn and honourable
" manner [138]."

Cuſtoms in war.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes being much engaged in war, had many ſingular cuſtoms relating to it; of which it is not neceſſary to make a complete collection. As ſoon as a war was reſolved upon, it was one of the firſt objects to diſcover what would be the event of it; not by comparing their own forces with thoſe of their enemies, but by attempting to diſcover the will of Heaven by various arts of divination. The only one of theſe arts which ſeems to have had the leaſt connection with any thing like reaſon, is that one which is thus deſcribed by Tacitus, as

[138] Eddius in Vita Wilfredi, c. 63.

practiſed by their anceſtors the ancient Germans: "It is their cuſtom, when they engage in war "with any neighbouring nation, to procure a "captive of that nation by ſome means or other; "him they oblige to engage in ſingle combat "with one of their own people, each armed "after the manner of his country; and from "the event of that combat, they draw a preſage "of their future victories or defeats [139]." They were at no leſs pains to gain the favour, than to diſcover the will of Heaven; in order to which, while they were Pagans, they offered many ſacrifices to their gods, and ſometimes even human victims, before they embarked in their military expeditions [140]. Their prieſts, bearing their idols, conſtantly attended their armies, exerciſed military diſcipline, and determined what were the moſt fortunate ſeaſons for giving battle [141]. After the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes to Chriſtianity, they long retained theſe ancient cuſtoms, a little changed, and accommodated to their new religion. Before a crew of Chriſtian pirates ſet ſail on a plundering expedition, with the pious deſign of robbing and murdering all who fell in their way, they never neglected to take the ſacrament, to confeſs their ſins to a prieſt, and to perform the penances which he preſcribed, in hopes (ſays my author) that God would bleſs and proſper them in their deſigns [142].

[139] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 10.

[140] Dudo St. Quintin. de morib. Norman. l. 1.

[141] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 10. [142] Saxo Grammat. l. 14.

The

The Anglo-Saxon armies were always attended by a great number of eccleſiaſtics to pray for their ſucceſs, who conſtantly carried with them their moſt venerable relics, in order to ſecure the protection of thoſe ſaints to whom they had belonged [143].

Nor did theſe churchmen confine themſelves within their own province of prayer, but, like their Pagan predeceſſors, interfered very much with the conduct of the armies which they attended, by inflicting the cenſures of the church on thoſe who behaved improperly, and conferring military honours, particularly knighthood, with the following ceremonies: "The perſon who "was to be knighted firſt confeſſed all his ſins "to the biſhop, abbot, monk, or prieſt, and "performed all the acts of devotion, and other "penances, which he injoined. He then watched "a whole night in the church, and next morn-"ing, before he heard maſs, he ſolemnly offered "his ſword upon the altar. After the reading "of the goſpel, the prieſt bleſſed the ſword, "took it from the altar, and with his benediction, "hung it about the ſoldier's neck; who having "communicated of the ſacred myſteries at the "ſame maſs, was proclaimed a true and lawful "knight [144]." Method of making knights.

When the Anglo-Saxons advanced to battle they made a moſt horrid and tremendous noiſe, War-ſong.

[143] Hiſtoria Ramſien. c. 72.

[144] Ingulphi Hiſtoria, edit. a Hen. Savile, p. 513.

by ſinging, ſhouting, and claſhing their arms; and to prevent their horſes being frightened at that noiſe, they had a cuſtom of making them deaf; which was at length condemned for its cruelty by the canons of the church [145]. The other military cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons which had any thing remarkable or ſingular in them, have been already mentioned in our account of their military arts [146].

Retinues of the great.

The Anglo-Saxon kings, queens, and nobles, lived in a kind of rude magnificence and ſtate, and were always ſurrounded with a crowd of officers, retainers, and ſervants. "Edwin king "of Northumberland (ſays Bede) lived in ſo "much ſplendour, that he had not only ſtandards "carried before him in time of war, but even in "times of peace, when he travelled with his "ordinary retinue through the provinces of his "kingdom. Nay, when he was at home, and "walked through the ſtreets of his capital, he "had always a ſtandard carried before him, of "that kind which the Romans call *Tufa*, and "the Engliſh call *Tuuf* [147]." This kind of ſtandard was made of feathers of various colours, in the form of a globe, and fixed on the top of a pole. Canute the Great, who was the richeſt and moſt magnificent prince in Europe of his time, never appeared in public, or made any journey, without a retinue of three thouſand men,

[145] Wilkins Concil. t. 1. p. 150. [146] Chap. 5. p. 137—154.
[147] Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 16.

well

well mounted and completely armed [148]. Theſe numerous attendants were called the king's *houſecarles*, and formed a corps of body-guards, or houſehold troops, for the honour and ſafety of the prince's perſon.

Chariots for travelling were not quite unknown in England in this period, though they ſeem to have been very rare, and only uſed by queens. Thus we are told by Eddius, in the life of archbiſhop Wilfred, that when the queen of Northumberland travelled in her chariot from place to place, ſhe hung up in it a bag with the precious relics which ſhe had violently taken from that prelate [149].

Chariots uſed by queens.

It would be tedious, and unbecoming the dignity of hiſtory, to enumerate all the trifling peculiarities in the manners and cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, which are mentioned by the author quoted below, to whom we muſt refer ſuch of our readers as deſire to be acquainted with theſe *minutiæ* [150].

The two moſt ancient and original languages of Europe were the Celtic and Teutonic, or Gothic; from which too many other languages were derived; and particularly thoſe that were ſpoken by the ſeveral nations which inhabited Britain in this period [151].

It hath been already proved,—that the language of the ancient Britons, when they were firſt

Language of the Scots and Welſh.

[148] Sueno Agonis, p. 152. [149] Eddius Vita Wilfredi, c. 33.
[150] Verſtigan's Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence, chap. 3.
[151] See Preface to Northern Antiquities.

invaded

invaded by the Romans, was a dialect of the Celtic;—that the great body of the people retained this language through all that Roman times;—that they ſpoke it at the arrival of the Saxons, and tranſmitted it to their poſterity in Wales, by whom it is ſtill ſpoken. The Caledonian nations in the north of Britain ſpoke alſo a dialect of the ſame very ancient language; and as their poſterity in the highlands of Scotland ſtill remain unmixed with any other people, they continue to ſpeak the language of their remote anceſtors, with little variation. Venerable Bede indeed obſerves, that in his time the Britons, Scots, and Picts, ſpoke three different languages; by which he probably means, that the languages of theſe nations were not exactly the ſame, but differed conſiderably from each other, as the Welſh and Erſe, the Engliſh and Scotch, do at preſent[152]. It will not be neceſſary to take any further notice of the Celtic tongue, or the dialects of it which have ſo long been ſpoken in Wales, and in the highlands and iſlands of Scotland, either in this or the ſucceeding periods of this work; becauſe they have remained through many ages without any very material alterations.

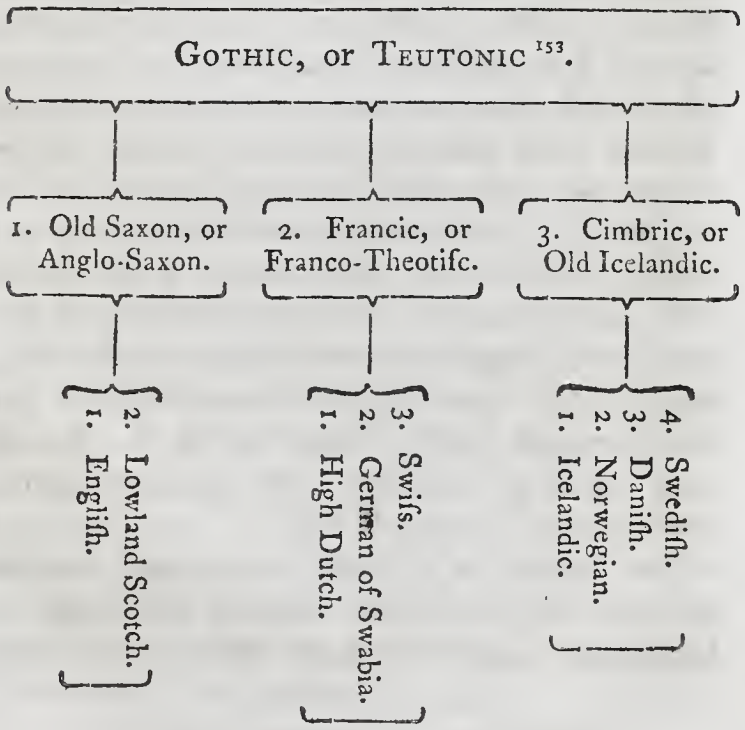
Language of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

The Gothic or Teutonic tongue was another of the moſt ancient and original languages of Europe; different dialects of which were ſpoken by all the nations of Germany and Scandinavia,

[152] See vol. 2. book 1. c. 7. p. 336, &c. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 1.

and

and by all the numerous tribes which iſſued from theſe countries, in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth centuries, and founded ſo many powerful ſtates on the ruins of the Roman empire. The following table will give the reader a diſtinct view of the chief tongues, ancient and modern, which have deſcended from this venerable parent of languages; and for his further ſatisfaction he will find, in the Appendix, N° 5. ſpecimens of theſe tongues; from which their affinity to each other, and to their common parent, will very plainly appear.



Scheme of the languages derived from the Teutonic.

153 See the Preface to Northern Antiquities.

The

Reaſons why the Italian, French, and Spaniſh languages, are not inſerted in the above ſcheme.

The modern Italian, French, and Spaniſh languages, are not inſerted in the above table among the deſcendants of the ancient Gothic, though kingdoms were founded in Italy, France, and Spain, by nations who ſpoke dialects of that language; becauſe theſe nations, inſtead of extirpating the ancient inhabitants of theſe countries, who were far more numerous than themſelves, ſettled amongſt them, and mixed with them; and by that means loſt the greateſt part of their own ancient languages, and adopted thoſe of the nations which they had conquered. In all theſe three languages, indeed, there is a tincture of the Teutonic; but they are chiefly derived from the Latin, and ſome other tongues, which had been ſpoken by the original inhabitants of theſe countries, and by other nations which had occaſionally ſettled in them [154].

The Saxon language.

The Anglo-Saxon and Daniſh are the only deſcendants of the ancient Gothic, in the above table, with which we are here concerned; becauſe theſe languages were ſpoken by the Anglo-Saxons and Danes who inhabited England and the ſouth-eaſt parts of Scotland in this period. Nor will it be neceſſary to ſay much concerning the Daniſh; becauſe it did not long remain a diſtinct tongue in any part of England, but was blended with the Anglo-Saxon, and formed a particular dialect of that language [155]. This

154 Verſtigan, c. 7. Muratori, t. 2. p. 990.
155 Hickeſii Theſaur. t. 1. p. 88, &c.

Dano-

Dano-Saxonic dialect was chiefly ſpoken in the kingdom of Northumberland, where the Danes abounded moſt; and it is ſometimes given as a reaſon, by our ancient hiſtorians, for the Danes landing ſo frequently in that country,—"that "there was a great mixture of Danes among the "inhabitants of it; and that their language had "a great affinity with the Daniſh [156]." That the Anglo-Saxon language was ſpoken in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Scotland, through the whole of this period, is undeniable [157]. When Edgar the Peaceable, king of England, yielded Lothian to Kenneth II. king of Scotland, A. D. 975, it was on theſe expreſs conditions,—that the people of that country ſhould ſtill be called Engliſhmen, be governed by the Engliſh laws, and be allowed to ſpeak the Engliſh language [158].

Antiquity and excellency of the Saxon language.

Many extravagant things have been advanced concerning the great antiquity and ſuperior excellency of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. According to ſome writers, it was the moſt ancient and moſt excellent language in the world, ſpoken by the firſt parents of mankind in paradiſe; and from it they pretend to derive the names *Adam*, *Eve*, *Cain*, *Abel*, and all the antediluvian patriarchs [159]. But leaving theſe extravagancies to their authors and admirers, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon tongue is ſo

156 J. Wallingford, edit. a Gale, p. 548.
157 Camden's Remains, p. 21.
158 J. Wallingford, edit. a Gale, p. 545.
159 Verſtigan, c. 7. p. 149.

ancient, that it is impoſſible to trace it to its origin; and that it was ſo excellent and copious, in the period we are now examining, as to enable thoſe who ſpoke it to expreſs all their ideas with ſufficient force and perſpicuity [160].

Contained many polyſyllables.

It hath been alſo affirmed very poſitively, that the moſt ancient Anglo-Saxon tongue conſiſted almoſt entirely of words of one ſyllable [161]. But of this it is impoſſible to produce any proof, as the moſt ancient ſpecimens of that language which are now extant, do not remarkably abound in monoſyllables, but contain a competent number of words, conſiſting of two, three and four ſyllables [162]. It is indeed true, that the far greateſt part of our preſent Engliſh words of one ſyllable are of Saxon origin; and this is all that can be affirmed with truth in this particular. It may even be obſerved, that ſome words which conſiſt now only of one ſyllable conſiſted anciently of two;—as *king*, which was in Saxon *Cining*, &c.

Affinity with the Greek.

Some learned men have diſcovered, or imagined, a very remarkable affinity between the Greek and Anglo Saxon; both in their radical words, and in their general ſtructure; and it muſt be confeſſed, that they have ſhown no little learning and ingenuity in tracing that affinity [163]. With this view, they have collected a conſiderable number of words, which are names of the

160 Camden's Remains, p. 25. 161 Id. ibid.

162 Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 1, &c.

163 Camden's Remains, p. 32, 33. Caſaubon Diſſertat. de Lingua Anglican. p. 236. Clarke on Coins, p. 36, &c.

moſt

moſt neceſſary and common things, and of a ſimilar ſound and ſenſe in both languages. This ſimilarity is indeed very great in ſome of theſe words; but in many others it ſeems to be fanciful and far-fetched. With regard to their general formation and ſtructure, a great analogy hath been obſerved between theſe two languages, —in the termination of the infinitive of their verbs,—in the uſe of their articles and negatives, —in the manner of comparing their adjectives, and compounding their words, and in ſome other particulars [164]. This affinity between theſe languages it ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the vicinity, relationſhip, and commercial intercourſe between the Goths and Greeks in very remote ages [165].

Changes in the Saxon language.

It is not to be imagined, that the Anglo-Saxon language continued in the ſame ſtate through the whole of this long period which we are now conſidering; though it would be too laborious, or rather impoſſible, to trace its gradual changes. No ſpecimens are now remaining of the language ſpoken by the Anglo-Saxons before their converſion to Chriſtianity; of which therefore we can have no certain knowledge. To give our Engliſh readers ſome faint idea at leaſt of the language ſpoken by their remote anceſtors in different parts, and at the concluſion of this period, it may not be improper to lay before them

[164] Caſaubon Diſſertat de Lingua Anglican. p. 236.
[165] Id. ibid.

two

two copies of the Lord's prayer, which appear to be of different ages, and a charter of king Harold, which muſt have been written in the laſt year of this period, with very literal tranſlations interlined. By an attentive inſpection of theſe ſpecimens, they will perceive the great difference that there is between the Anglo-Saxon and modern Engliſh; and at the ſame time they will diſcover the great reſemblance, and gradual approaches of the former of theſe languages to the latter. The Anglo-Saxon, in all theſe ſpecimens, and ſome others which are given in the Appendix, are printed in Roman, and not in Saxon letters, which would have rendered them quite unintelligible to the bulk of our readers.

Saxon copy of the Lord's prayer, and literal verſion.

The moſt ancient copy of the Lord's prayer in Saxon, with a very literal tranſlation.

Urin Fader thic arth in heofnas,
Our Father which art in heaven,

1. Sic [166] gehalgud thin noma;
   Be hallowed thine name;

2. To cymeth thin ryc [167];
   To come thine kingdom;

3. Sic thin willa ſue is in heofnas and in eortho;
   Be thine will ſo is in heaven and in earth;

166 The ſyllable *ge* is here a mere expletive, and was prefixed by the Anglo-Saxons, as well as by the Greeks, to many of their words.

167 Some veſtige of this word ſtill remains in the word *biſhopric*.

4. Urin

4. Urin hlaf ofirwiſtlic [168] ſel [169] us to daig;
Our loaf ſuperexcellent give us to day;

5. And forgefe us ſcylda urna, ſue we forgefan
And forgive us debts ours, ſo we forgiven

ſcyldgum urum;
debts of ours;

6. And no inlead uſig in cuſtnung,
And not lead us into temptation,

7. Ah gefrig uſich from ifle.
But free us each from evil. Amen.

Obſervations on this ſpecimen.

Though the above Saxon verſion of the Lord's prayer is evidently very ancient, and is ſaid to have been written by Eadfredi, biſhop of Lindisfarne, about A. D. 700; yet we may obſerve, that there are not above three or four words in it that are altogether obſolete, and quite unintelligible to an Engliſh reader [170]. It may be proper alſo to take notice, that ſeveral words in the Saxon conſiſt of more ſyllables than the ſame words in modern Engliſh, and not ſo much as one of fewer; for *ryc* is a different word from *kingdom*, which came in its place.

[168] The great difference here is owing to the Saxon tranſlators having put a different ſenſe on the original.

[169] The verb *ſelan*, or *ſellan*, changed its meaning even in the Saxon times, and ſignified to *ſell*, though anciently it had ſignified to *give*.

[170] Camden's Remains, p. 22.

Later copy of the Lord's prayer, with a literal tranſlation.

A later copy of the Lord's prayer in Saxon, with a very literal tranſlation.

Thu vre Fader the eart on heofinum,
Thou our Father that art in heaven,

1. Cum thin ric;
Come thine kingdom;

2. Si thin willa on eorthan ſwa ſwa on heofinum;
Be thine will on earth ſo as in heaven;

3. Syle us to daeg urn daegthanlican hlaf;
Give us to day our daily loaf;

4. And forgif us ure gyltas, ſwa ſwa we forgifath
And forgive us our guilts, ſo as we forgive

tham the with us agyltath;
them that againſt us are guilty;

5. And ne led us on coſtnung;
And not lead us into temptation;

6. Ac alys us from yfle.
And redeem us from evil.

Si it ſwo.
Be it ſo.

This laſt copy of the Lord's prayer, which is ſuppoſed to have been written about two centuries after the former, hath ſtill fewer obſolete words in it, and evidently approacheth nearer to modern Engliſh.

The

Another ſpecimen.

The ſtate of the Anglo-Saxon language, in the very laſt year of the preſent period, may be diſcovered even by an Engliſh reader, by peruſing with attention the following ſhort charter of Harold our laſt Anglo-Saxon king, and comparing it with the interlined verſion; which is contrived to give its meaning in words as near as poſſible to the original, without any regard to elegance or propriety of expreſſion:

Charter of king Harold with a literal tranſlation.

Harold king greet Ailnoth and Tovid, and
Harold king greets Ailnoth and Tovid, and

alle mine theines on Somerſeten frendliche.
all mine thanes in Somerſet friendlily.

And ic cyeth eou, that ic will that Giſo
And I kyth[171] to you, that I will that Giſo

Biſheop beo his ſaca[172] werth and his ſocna,
Biſhop be his ſac worthy and his ſoc,

ofer his lond and ofer his mannen: and tolles
over his land and over his men: and of toll

[171] This verb, *to kyth*, in Saxon *cyethan*, "to diſcover or make "known," is ſtill uſed in the following verſe of that verſion of the Pſalms of David which is appointed to be ſung in the church of Scotland:

Thou gracious to the gracious art,
To upright men upright.
Pure to the pure, froward thou kyth'ſt,
Unto the froward wight. *Pſal.* xviii. 25, 26.

[172] *Saca* and *ſocna*, now commonly written *ſac* and *ſoc*, ſignify "a privilege of holding courts and judging cauſes," called *ſaca*, within their own lands, called *ſocna*; and to be *ſac* and *ſoc* worthy, was to have a right to this privilege. *Hickeſii Theſaur. p.* 159.

werth [173], and temes [174], and infangenes [175]
worthy, and of ſlaves, and of the trial of

thefes, binnen burckh and butan: ſwo full
thieves, within burgh and without: ſo full

and ſwo forth ſwo he furmiſt was on Edward
and ſo forth as it firſt was in Edward

kinges dage on alle thingan. And ich bidde eou
king's day in all things. And I bid you

alle, that ge been him on fultumes, at thys
all, that ye be to him aſſiſting, his

Chriſtendome Godes yerichtten, for to ſetten
Chriſtian and God's rights, for to ſtabliſh

and to driven, loc thar him neth ſy, and heo
and to drive, when there need be, and he

eoures fultumes bithyrfe; ſwo ſwo ich yetruthen
your ſupport wanteth; ſo as I confidence

173 *Tolles werth* was the privilege of holding a market, and exacting certain tolls or cuſtoms from thoſe who frequented it. *Ley's Saxon Diction. in voc.*

174 *Teme* or *team* in Saxon ſignified a progeny or family of children; and to be *teams werth*, ſignified to have the property of their ſlaves, and of the children and poſterity of theſe ſlaves. There are ſtill ſome veſtiges of this word in uſe;—as, "a *team* of ducks;"—and in Scotland, "a bearn-*team*," a family of children.

175 *Infangenes thefes*, which is moſt commonly written in one word, was a technical term in the Anglo-Saxon law, denoting a privilege granted by the king to a biſhop or thane, to try a thief in his own court, who had been *fanged* or catched within his own territories. *Spelman Gloſſ in voc.*

to

to eou habbe, that we willan for mina lŭven.
in you have, that ye will for mine love.
And ich nille ye thefun that man, him æt
And I will not ye offend that man, or him in
anie thingan anye unlag beodthe. God
any thing any unlawful deed do. God
eu gehealde.
you hold.

From theſe ſpecimens, the people of England will perceive, with pleaſure, that the language which was ſpoken by their anceſtors above a thouſand years ago, was copious, expreſſive, and muſical; abounding very much in vowels, diphthongs, and polyſyllables, which are eſteemed the greateſt excellencies of language. They will obſerve alſo, with ſurpriſe, its great reſemblance in the ſubſtance of it to modern Engliſh; and that the far greateſt part of the words of it are ſtill in uſe, though many of them are much changed in their ſpelling and meaning. The further gradual changes of this language will be traced, in their proper places, in the ſubſequent volumes of this work.

A minute inveſtigation of the ſeveral parts of the dreſs of both ſexes, and of all the different ranks in ſociety, in the ſeveral Britiſh nations, in this period, would be tedious, and inconſiſtent with the nature and deſign of hiſtory; and therefore a general view of this ſubject is all that can be expected in this place.

Minute inveſtigation of the changes of dreſs not neceſſary.

Dreſs not very liable to change in this period.

In the firſt ſtages of ſociety, the modes and faſhions of dreſs are not very changeable. Arts are then in their infancy, and do not furniſh materials for fancy to work upon; and men being little accuſtomed to changes of any kind, are uncommonly tenacious of the faſhions, as well as of the other cuſtoms of their anceſtors. It is a ſufficient proof of this, that the very ancient and barbarous practice of body-painting was not quite unfaſhionable in the preſent period, as there was a neceſſity for making a law againſt it A. D. 785[176]. It appears alſo from the ſame law, that long after the introduction of Chriſtianity, ſome Pagan modes of dreſs were ſtill retained, that were much condemned by the church, but are not deſcribed.

Dreſs of the Scots, Picts, and Welſh.

We know of no very remarkable change in the dreſs of the Scots and Picts in this period; among whom the arts were ſtill in a very imperfect ſtate. The poſterity of the ancient Britons of the ſouth, after their retreat into Wales, were not in better circumſtances in this reſpect, being but very imperfectly and coarſely clothed. They are ſaid to have deſpiſed linen, and to have had their heads, feet, and legs uncovered, with nothing on their bodies but coarſe rough breeches, a kind of jacket next their ſkin, and a mantle or plaid over all, which ſerved them to ſleep in by night, and protected them from the cold and rain by day, as the learned reader will ſee by the

[176] Wilkin. Concilia, t. 1. p. 150.

rhiming

rhiming verſes below[177]. This, however, was only the dreſs of the common people of Wales in this period: for it plainly appears from the laws of that country, that the royal family, the officers of ſtate, and other perſons of high rank, were not ſtrangers to the uſe of linen, and of ſhoes and ſtockings. By theſe laws, all the officers of the houſehold were appointed to be clothed thrice every year, the king furniſhing the woollen, and the queen the linen, cloth for that purpoſe[178]. The ſeveral parts of the dreſs of the king and of the nobility are enumerated; among which are ſhirts, ſtockings, ſhoes, and boots, with girdles or belts, at which their knives and daggers, with whetſtones for ſharpening them, were ſuſpended[179]. Though hoſe or ſtockings are mentioned in the ancient laws of Wales, we muſt not imagine that they were of the ſame kind, or manufactured in the ſame manner, with thoſe which are now in uſe; for the ingenious and uſeful arts of knitting and weaving ſtockings were not invented till ſeveral centuries after the concluſion of this period. The ſtockings of thoſe times were only certain

177 His veſtium inſignia
Sunt clames et camiſia,
Et criſpa femoralia
Sub ventis et ſub pluvia,
Quamvis brumeſcat Borea.
Sub iſtis apparatibus
Spiritis linthiaminibus,
Stant, ſedent, cubant, dormiunt,
Pergant, pugnant, proſiliunt.
Hi ſine ſuper tunicis,
Nudatis ſemper tibiis,
Vix aliter incederent
Regi licet occurrerent.
Ranulph Higden, apud Gale, p. 187.

178 Leges Wallicæ, p. 8.

179 Id. p. 273.

clumſy coverings for the legs and feet, made of linen or woollen cloth, and wrapped about them, or faſtened on them in ſeveral different ways; ſome of which will be hereafter mentioned.

General deſcription of the dreſs of the Anglo Saxons.

The dreſs of the ancient Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus, was very ſimple and imperfect, conſiſting chiefly of a large mantle or plaid, which covered the whole body, and was faſtened on the right ſhoulder by a button or broach [180]. Some of the moſt opulent amongſt them wore under their mantles a kind of tunic, not looſe and flowing like thoſe of the Parthians and Sarmatians, but exactly fitted to the ſhape of their bodies, and ornamented with patches of the ſkins of animals of different colours. The dreſs of the women did not differ much from that of the men, only their mantles were commonly made of linen, and their tunics had no ſleeves, and did not cover their boſoms [181]. The Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, ſeem to have been dreſſed in the ſame manner with their anceſtors the ancient Germans. For Paulus Diaconus, in his hiſtory of the Longobards, gives the following ſhort deſcription of their dreſs (which he ſays was the ſame with that of the Anglo-Saxons), taken from a hiſtorical painting of the ſixth century, which he had ſeen in the palace of Theodelinda, queen of the Longobards, in Italy. "In the ſame place, queen "Theodelinda built a palace, in which ſhe

[180] Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

[181] Id. ibid.

"cauſed

" caused some of the exploits of the Longo-
" bards to be painted. From this ancient paint-
" ing, we see how the Longobards dressed their
" hair in those times, and also what kind of
" garments they wore. Their garments, which
" were the same with those of the Anglo-Saxons,
" were loose and flowing, and chiefly made of
" linen, adorned with broad borders, woven or
" embroidered with various colours[182]." As this description was taken from a painting, it probably respects only the upper garment or mantle; and as this painting was in the palace of a queen, many female figures were probably introduced into it; which might be the reason that many of these mantles appeared to be of linen. For it is hardly possible, that all the garments of the men among the Longobards and Anglo-Saxons, especially the upper ones, could be made of linen, at a time when that kind of cloth was so scarce. Such garments too would have been very uncomfortable and inconvenient to nations that were so much exposed to storms, and engaged in military expeditions.

More particular account.

To gratify more fully the curiosity of the people of England in this particular, it may not be improper to collect a more complete account of the several parts of the dress of their ancestors, and of the arts with which they used to adorn their persons.

[182] Paul. Diacon. de Gestis Longobard. l. 4. c. 23.

All

Fondneſs for the warm bath.

All the nations which iſſued from Germany and Scandinavia in the middle ages, and particularly the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, who ſettled in England, long retained their fondneſs for bathing in warm water, which they had derived from their anceſtors the ancient Germans [183]. In the Anglo-Saxon laws, the warm bath is always conſidered as one of the neceſſaries of life; and no leſs indiſpenſable than meat, drink, or clothing [184]. One of the moſt common penances enjoined by the canons of the church in thoſe times, to thoſe who had been guilty of great ſins, was, to abſtain for a certain time from the warm bath themſelves, and to give meat, drink, clothes, firing, bath, and bed, to a certain number of poor people [185]. On the other hand, they had a very great averſion to bathing in cold water; which was alſo enjoined as a penance. To bathe at leaſt every Saturday was the conſtant practice of all who had any regard to perſonal propriety, and wiſhed to recommend themſelves to the favour of the ladies [186].

The Anglo-Saxons vain of fine and long hair.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes conſidered fine hair as one of the greateſt beauties and ornaments of their perſons, and were at no little pains in dreſſing it to advantage [187]. Young ladies before marriage wore their hair unco-

183 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 22.
184 Johnſon's Canons, A.D. 963. c. 68, 69.
185 Id. ibid.
186 Weltichindus, l. 1. Cluver. l. 1. c. 16. p. 106.
187 J. Wallingford, apud Gale, t. 1. p. 547.

vered

vered and untied flowing in ringlets over their ſhoulders; but as ſoon as they were married, they cut it ſhorter, tied it up, and put on a head-dreſs of ſome kind or other, according to the prevailing faſhion[188]. To have the hair entirely cut off, was ſo great a diſgrace, that it was one of the greateſt puniſhments inflicted on thoſe women who were guilty of adultery[189]. The Daniſh ſoldiers who were quartered upon the Engliſh, in the reigns of Edgar the Peaceable and of Ethelred the Unready, were the beaus of thoſe times, and were particularly attentive to the dreſſing of their hair; which they combed at leaſt once every day, and thereby captivated the affections of the Engliſh ladies[190]. The clergy, both ſecular and regular, were obliged to ſhave the crowns of their heads, and keep their hair ſhort, which diſtinguiſhed them from the laity; and ſeveral canons were made againſt their concealing their tonſure, or allowing their hair to grow long[191]. The ſhape of this clerical tonſure was the ſubject of long and violent debates between the Engliſh clergy on the one hand, and thoſe of the Scots and Picts on the other; that of the former being circular, and that of the latter only ſemicircular[192]. It appears very plainly that long flowing hair was

188 Du Cange Gloſſ. voc. Capelli.
189 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 19.
190 J. Wallingford, apud Gale, p. 547.
191 Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 960. c. 47.
192 Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 21.

univer-

univerſally eſteemed a great ornament; and the tonſure of the clergy was conſidered as an act of mortification and ſelf-denial, to which many of them ſubmitted with reluctance, and endeavoured to conceal as much as poſſible. Some of them, who affected the reputation of ſuperior ſanctity, inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the long hair of the laity; and laboured earneſtly to perſuade them to cut it ſhort, in imitation of the clergy. Thus the famous St. Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, who flouriſhed in the laſt part of this period, is ſaid to have declaimed with great vehemence againſt luxury of all kinds, but chiefly againſt long hair, as moſt criminal and moſt univerſal. "The Engliſh (ſays William "of Malmſbury, in his life of St. Wulſtan) "were very vicious in their manners, and "plunged in luxury, through the long peace "which they had enjoyed in the reign of Ed-"ward the Confeſſor. The holy prelate Wul-"ſtan reproved the wicked of all ranks with "great boldneſs; but he rebuked thoſe with "the greateſt ſeverity who were proud of their "long hair. When any of thoſe vain people "bowed their heads before him to receive his "bleſſing, before he gave it, he cut a lock of "their hair with a little ſharp knife, which he "carried about him for that purpoſe, and com-"manded them, by way of penance for their "ſins, to cut all the reſt of their hair in the "ſame manner. If any of them refuſed to "comply with this command, he denounced "the

"the moſt dreadful judgments upon them, re-
"proached them for their effeminacy, and fore-
"told, that as they imitated women in the
"length of their hair, they would imitate them
"in their cowardice when their country was in-
"vaded; which was accompliſhed at the land-
"ing of the Normans[193]." In times of peace, the Anglo-Saxons and Danes covered their heads with a bonnet, exactly of the ſame ſhape with that which is ſtill uſed by the common country-people in Scotland; in times of war they covered them with their helmets[194].

Their beards.

Some of the ancient German nations allowed their beards to grow till they had killed an enemy in battle; while others ſhaved them all except their upper lips[195]. The Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, and for a conſiderable time after, moſt probably followed the former of theſe faſhions, as well as their near neighbours the Longobards, to whom in all things they bore a very great reſemblance[196]. After the introduction of Chriſtianity, their clergy were obliged to ſhave their beards, in obedience to the laws, and in imitation of the practice of all the weſtern churches[197]. This diſtinction between the clergy and the laity ſubſiſted for ſome time; and a writer of the ſeventh century complains,

193 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 254.

194 See the plates of the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux, Memoires de Literature, t. 12.

195 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 31. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28.

196 Paul. Diacon. l. 1. c. 9. 197 Muratori, t. 2. p. 300.

that the manners of the clergy were ſo corrupted, that they could not be diſtinguiſhed from the laity by their actions, but only by their want of beards [198]. By degrees, the Engliſh laity began to imitate the clergy ſo far as to ſhave all their beards except their upper lips, on each of which they left a lock of hair; by which they were diſtinguiſhed from the French and Normans, who ſhaved their whole beards. The Engliſh ſpies who had been ſent by king Harold to diſcover the ſtrength and ſituation of the army of William duke of Normandy, having been taken priſoners, were conducted through the whole army, and deſired to take a full view of every thing; after which they were ſumptuouſly entertained, and courteouſly diſmiſſed. "At their "return (ſays Malmſbury), being aſked by Ha-"rold what they had ſeen? they broke out into "high encomiums on the magnificence, confi-"dence, and courteſy, of the duke; and ſe-"rioufly added, that his whole army ſeemed to "them to be compoſed of prieſts, as all their "beards, and even their upper lips, were ſhaved. "For the Engliſh at that time generally ſhaved "their beards; but allowed the hair of their "upper lips to grow to its full length. The "king ſmiled at their ignorance and ſimplicity; "well knowing, that thoſe whom they believed "to be prieſts were brave warriors [199]."

[198] Muratori, t. 2. p. 300.
[199] W. Malmſ. l. 3.

The

The Anglo-Saxons, in this period, were far from being ſtrangers to the uſe of linen; for of this all perſons of any conſideration amongſt them wore ſhirts next their bodies. Theſe were eſteemed ſo pleaſant and ſo neceſſary, that wearing a woollen ſhirt is reckoned among thoſe things which conſtituted deep ſatisfaction or penance for very great ſins [200]. In that particular deſcription of the French dreſs (which was the ſame with the Engliſh), in the ninth century, given by Eginhart, the hiſtorian of Charlemagne, a ſhirt of linen next the body is mentioned as an eſſential part [201]. Their ſhirts.

Above their ſhirts they wore a tunic or veſt fitted to the ſhape of their bodies, and reaching to the middle of their thighs, ſometimes with ſleeves, and ſometimes without them. Kings, princes, and great men, had their veſts made of ſilk, or at leaſt with borders of ſilk, embroidered with various figures [202]. "The tunics (ſays Alcuinus) of ſoldiers are commonly made of linen, and exactly fitted to the ſhape of their bodies, that they may be expedite in pointing their ſpears, holding their ſhields, and brandiſhing their ſwords [203]." Their tunics.

The Anglo-Saxons wore breeches, either of linen or woollen cloth, reaching to the knee, and ſometimes conſiderably below it, very much reſembling Their breeches and belts.

200 Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 963. Can. 64.
201 Eginhart. Vita Caroli Magni, c. 23.
202 Id. Ibid.
203 Alcuini Lib. de Offic. Divin.

ſembling the trouſers worn by our ſailors [204]. About their bodies, above their tunics, they wore belts or girdles, in which their ſwords were ſtuck almoſt perpendicular [205]. Theſe belts were ſometimes embroidered, and adorned with precious ſtones [206].

Their ſtockings.

The common people among the Anglo-Saxons for the moſt part had no ſtockings, nor any other covering on their legs; and even the clergy celebrated maſs with their legs naked, till the following law was made againſt that practice in the council of Chalchuythe, A. D. 785: "Let no "miniſter of the altar preſume to approach it to "celebrate maſs with naked legs, leſt his filthi-"neſs appear, and God be offended [207]." But perſons of condition covered their legs with a kind of ſtockings made of linen or woollen cloth, which were ſometimes faſtened on, and made to fit the ſhape, by being wrapped about with bandages, which made many turns round the leg, from the foot to the knee [208]. Theſe bandages are very viſible on the legs of Edward the Confeſſor, Guido count of Ponthieu, and a few other great perſonages, in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux, which is one of the moſt curious monuments of thoſe times now remaining.

Their ſhoes.

Though many of the figures in this tapeſtry are without ſtockings, none of them are without

204 See the plates of the tapeſtry of Bayeux, Montfaucon Monumens de Monarchie Françoiſe, t. 1.

205 Id. ibid. 206 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 6.

207 Wilkins Concil. t. 1. p. 147. 208 Lindenbrogii Gloſſ. p. 1469.

ſhoes;

ſhoes; which makes it probable, that ſhoes (as they are more neceſſary) were more generally uſed, than ſtockings, in this period. Many of our readers will be ſurpriſed to hear, that the greateſt princes of Europe, in the ninth and tenth centuries, wore wooden ſhoes, which are now eſteemed the marks of the moſt deplorable indigence and miſery. Thoſe of a great king are thus deſcribed by one who had ſeen them: "The ſhoes which covered each of his feet are "ſtill remaining: their ſoles are of wood, and "the upper part of leather, tied with thongs. "They were ſo nicely fitted to the ſhape of the "feet, that you might diſcern the order of the "toes, terminating in a point at the great toe; "ſo that the ſhoe of the right foot could not be "put upon the left foot, nor that of the left on "the right [209].

Their mantles.

The ſagum or mantle was the principal garment of the ancient Germans, and of all the nations deſcended from them; particularly of the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, [210]. This garment is thus deſcribed by a cotemporary writer: "Their "uppermoſt garment was a mantle of white or "blue cloth, ſquare, and lined, and ſo formed, "that when it was put on their ſhoulders, it "reached to their feet, before and behind; but "hardly reached to their knees on the two "ſides [211]." Theſe mantles were faſtened on the

[209] Eginhart. a Schminkio edit. p. 111.
[210] Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 17.
[211] Lindenbrogii Gloſſ. in voc. Sagum.

right ſhoulder by a button; and were of great uſe to ſoldiers in military expeditions, protecting them from the inclemency of the weather, and keeping them warm both in the night and day. It was on this account that Charlemagne prohibited the uſe of ſhort cloaks, which began to come into faſhion in his time. "Of what uſe "(ſaid that wiſe prince) are theſe trifling little "cloaks? When we are in bed, they do not "cover us; when we are on horſeback, they "do not protect us from the wind and rain; "and when we retire to eaſe nature, they do "not ſecure our legs from the cold and froſt [212]." The mantles uſed by kings at their coronations, and on other great ſolemnities, were of purple cloth or ſilk, embroidered with gold. "I give "(ſaid Witlaf king of Mercia, in his charter to "the abbey of Croiland) to the ſecretary of the "ſaid abbey, my purple mantle, which I wore "at my coronation, to be made into a cope, to "be uſed by thoſe who miniſter at the holy "altar; and alſo my golden veil, embroidered "with the hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy, to be "hung up in the church on my anniverſary [213]." The mantles of princeſſes and ladies of diſtinction were made of ſilk or fine linen.

Diſtinctions between the dreſſes of the ſexes.

There was little difference between the dreſſes of the two ſexes among the ancient Germans; only the women made more uſe of linen than the

[212] Lindenbrogii Gloſſ. in voc. Saguin.
[213] Ingulph. Hiſt. Croil. p. 488.

men,

men, the ſleeves of their tunics were ſhorter, reaching no further than to their elbows; and their boſoms were uncovered when they had not on their mantles[214]. The dreſſes of the two ſexes among the Anglo-Saxons ſeem to have differed in ſome other particulars. The tunics of the ladies reached to their ancles;—their mantles were faſtened before, and not on the right ſhoulder, with a button; they had openings on each ſide for the arms, and they flowed down to the ground on all ſides. Theſe circumſtances appear very plainly by an attentive inſpection of the female figures in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux[215].

Ornaments of gold.

Perſons of rank and wealth, of both ſexes, among the Danes and Anglo-Saxons, ſeem to have been very fond of ornaments of gold; as gold chains and bracelets. Gold chains were worn by all officers of diſtinction, both civil and military, as badges of their offices; and theſe chains were given them by their ſovereigns; who, on this account, are ſometimes called the *givers of gold chains*, in the poems of thoſe times[216]. The famous preſent made by Earl Godwin to king Hardicanute hath been already mentioned; and ſufficiently ſhews, that bracelets of gold on each arm were ornaments worn by warriors, as well as by ladies, in this period[217]. The Danes in particular were ſo

214 Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 17.
215 Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, t. 12. p. 381. 442.
216 Chron. Saxon. p. 112. 217 See vol. iii. p. 136.

great admirers of theſe ornaments, that they eſteemed no oaths ſo ſacred and inviolable as thoſe that were ſworn on bracelets of gold [218]. In a word, we have the direct teſtimony of a cotemporary writer, that, at the concluſion of this period, the Engliſh were admired by other nations, and even by the French, for the richneſs and elegance of their dreſs. "The French "and Norman nobility admired the fine per- "ſons, the flowing hair, and the beautiful "dreſſes, of the Engliſh nobles. For the Eng- "liſh women excel all others in needle-work, "and embroidering with gold; and their male "artiſts are alſo excellent. Beſides this, ſuch "Germans as are moſt ſkilful in the ſeveral arts "reſide in England; and their merchants, who "viſit many diſtant regions with their ſhips, "bring home from other countries the moſt cu- "rious works of art of every kind [219]."

Furs. Furs of various kinds were much uſed by perſons of both ſexes, and of all conditions, in lining their tunics and mantles, eſpecially in the winter-ſeaſon. Of this many proofs might be produced; but the following ſhort anecdote from the life of Wulſtan biſhop of Worceſter will be ſufficient. The holy biſhop is thus celebrated by his biographer for the modeſty and humility of his dreſs: "He avoided all appearances of "pride and oſtentation in his dreſs: for though

[218] Aſſer. Vita Ælfredi, p. 8. Ethelwerdi Chron. l. 4. c. 3.
[219] Geſta Guillielmi Ducis, apud Duchen. p. 211.

"he

" he was very rich, he never made uſe of any " finer furs than thoſe of lambs' ſkins in lining " his garments. For this he was blamed one " day in converſation by one of his brethren, " Jeffrey biſhop of Conſtans; who aſked him, " Why he uſed only the furs of lambs in his " garments, when he might and ought to uſe " thoſe of ſables, beavers, and foxes? To " which he returned this facetious anſwer: It " is very proper for you and other politicians, " who are ſkilled in all the tricks and artifices " of the world, to wear the ſpoils of thoſe cun- " ning animals; but as I am a plain and artleſs " man, I am very well contented with the ſkins " of lambs. The other ſtill inſiſting, that if he " would not uſe thoſe finer furs, he might at " leaſt uſe the furs of cats. Believe me, re- " plied Wulſtan, my dear brother, *the lamb of* " *God* is much oftner ſung in the church than " the cat of God. This witty anſwer threw the " whole company into a violent fit of laughter, " and put biſhop Jeffrey to ſilence [220]." This anecdote, beſides the purpoſe for which it is introduced, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the wit of thoſe times.

Diet.

It is not neceſſary to ſpend much time in deſcribing the diet of the ſeveral nations of Britain in this period. For theſe nations were not unpractiſed in the arts of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, paſturage, and agriculture; and conſequently

[220] Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 259.

were not unprovided with the various kinds of meats and drinks which are procured by theſe arts.

Of the Welſh, Scots, and Picts.

The people of Wales in this period, and even for ſome ages after, were very abſtemious in their diet. "They remain faſting from morning to "night, being employed through the whole day "in managing their affairs; and in the evening "they take a moderate ſupper. If by any means "they are diſappointed of a ſupper, or get only "a very ſlight one, they wait with patience till "the ſucceeding evening, without taking any "food. In the evening, when all the family "and ſtrangers are aſſembled, they make ready "proviſions according to the number of the "gueſts and the abilities of the family; and "in doing this they ſtudy only to ſatisfy the de-"mands of nature, and not to provoke an ap-"petite, by the arts of cookery, by ſauces, and "a variety of diſhes. When the ſupper is ready, "a baſket with vegetables is ſet before every "three perſons, and not before every two, as in "other countries,—a large diſh, with meat of "various kinds, and ſometimes a meſs of broth "or pottage. Their bread is thin and broad "cakes, which are baked from day to day. "They make no uſe of tables, table-cloths, or "napkins. When ſtrangers are at ſupper, the "maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe always ſerve "them in perſon, and never taſte any thing till "their gueſts have finiſhed their repaſt; that if "there be any deficiency of proviſions, it may "fall

"fall to their own ſhare[221]." This account is given by a Welſhman, who was perfectly well acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of his countrymen. It is highly probable, that the common people among the Scots and Picts, who were alſo deſcended from the ancient Britons, lived in the ſame manner in this period. It is proper, however, to take notice, that the people of rank and fortune, and particularly the princes of all theſe nations, lived in a more plentiful and leſs ſimple manner. The chief cooks of the king and queen were perſons of conſiderable dignity in the courts of the kings of Wales, and made uſe of pepper, and other ſpiceries, in ſeaſoning the diſhes for the royal table, which appear to have been numerous[222]. Two tables were daily covered in the king's hall: at the firſt of which the king preſided, and ten of the principal officers of the court were admitted to it: the ſecond table was in the lower part of the hall, near the door, at which the maſter of the houſehold, with three other principal officers, had their ſeats. At this ſecond table were ſeveral empty places, for the reception of ſuch as were degraded from the king's table for their miſbehaviour[223].

Their drinks.

The ordinary drink of the common people in Scotland and Wales was water or milk; but perſons of rank and fortune had a variety of fer-

221 Girald Cambrenſ. Deſcriptio Cambriæ, c. 10.

222 Leges Wallicæ, p. 48. 55. 223 Id. p. 13, 14, 15.

mented and intoxicating liquors, which they uſed with great freedom and too often to exceſs. Mead was ſtill one of their favourite liquors, and bore a high price; for a caſk of mead, by the laws of Wales, was valued at one hundred and twenty pence, equal in quantity of ſilver to thirty ſhillings of our preſent money, and in efficacy to fifteen pounds[224]. The dimenſions of the caſk are thus deſcribed by theſe laws: "The "meaſure of a caſk of mead muſt be nine palms "in height, and ſo capacious as to ſerve the "king, accompanied by one of his counſellors, for "a bathing tub[225]." By another law, its diameter is fixed at eighteen palms. To provide the materials for making this liquor, every farmer, either of the king or of the nobility, was obliged to pay a part of his rent in honey[226]. They had alſo two kinds of ale, called *common ale*, and *ſpiced ale;* and their value was thus aſcertained by law: "If a farmer hath no mead, he ſhall "pay two caſks of ſpiced ale, or four caſks of "common ale, for one caſk of mead[227]." By this law, a caſk of ſpiced ale, nine palms in height, and eighteen palms in diameter, was valued at a ſum of money equal in efficacy to ſeven pounds ten ſhillings of our preſent money; and a caſk of common ale, of the ſame dimenſions, at a ſum equal to three pounds fifteen ſhillings. This is a ſufficient proof, that even common ale

224 Leges Wallicæ, p. 178.
225 Id. ibid.
226 Id. p. 174.
227 Id. ibid.

in

in this period was an article of luxury among the Welſh, which could only be obtained by the great and opulent. Wine ſeems to have been quite unknown even to the kings of Wales in this period, as it is not ſo much as once mentioned in their laws; though Giraldus Cambrenſis, who flouriſhed about a century after the conqueſt, acquaints us, that there was a vineyard, in his time, at Maenarper, near Pembroke, in South Wales[228].

Diet of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were very far from being ſo abſtemious in their diet as the poſterity of the ancient Britons; but rather verged towards the other extreme: for inſtead of contenting themſelves with one moderate meal a-day, they commonly took four full ones. Some of our monkiſh hiſtorians, who flouriſhed after the conqueſt, ſpeak with high reliſh of the good living at court in the Saxon and Daniſh times. "The kings (as it is ſaid) were then ſo generous "and bountiful, that they commanded four "royal banquets to be ſerved up every day to "all their courtiers; chuſing rather to have "much ſuperfluity at their tables, than the "leaſt appearance of deficiency. But, alas! it "is become the cuſtom at court in our times "to have only one entertainment a-day; out "of politeneſs, as it is pretended, but in reality "out of ſordid parſimony[229]." The Anglo-

[228] Girald. Cambrenſ. Itinerarium Cambriæ, l. 1. c. 12.
[229] Hen. Hunt. l. 6.

Saxons

Saxons and Danes, like their anceſtors the ancient Germans, delighted much in feaſting [230]. Their nobles ſpent the greateſt part of their revenues in making proviſion for the abundant and frequent feaſts with which they regaled their friends and followers [231]. Their kings entertained all the great men of the kingdom for ſeveral days at each of the three feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide, in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and at a great expence [232]. In a word, no meeting of any kind was held, and no buſineſs of importance was tranſacted, without a feaſt. Theſe feaſts were more remarkable for their abundance than for their elegance; and ſome kinds of proviſions were then uſed which would not now be touched, but in the greateſt extremities of famine. The Daniſh inhabitants of Northumberland, in particular, were fond of horſe-fleſh, which they devoured in great quantities [233].

Their cookery.

The cookery of the Engliſh in this period, we may preſume, was not very exquiſite. It ſeems to have conſiſted chiefly, if not wholly, in the three operations of roaſting, broiling, and boiling. The ancient Germans, and all the nations deſcended from them, delighted much in great joints of roaſted meat; a taſte which univerſally prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons of this period, and ſtill prevails among the moſt robuſt

230 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14, 15.
231 W. Malmſ. l. 3. p. 58. 232 Anglia Sacra. t. 2. p. 199.
233 Wilkins Concilia, t. 1. p. 147. 151.

and

and manly of their poſterity[234]. Salted meats of all kinds were much uſed in thoſe times at the tables of the great, and even at royal entertainments[235].

Their liquors, wine, mead, ale, pigment, morat, cyder, &c.

As the Anglo-Saxons and Danes were at leaſt as much addicted to intemperance in drinking as in eating, they were at much pains in providing plenty and variety of liquors for their entertainments. The liquors provided for a royal banquet, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, were wine, mead, ale, pigment, morat, and cyder[236]. If wine was made in England in this period, it was only in ſmall quantities, and therefore the greateſt part of what was uſed was certainly imported. "Though Britain (ſays an ancient hiſ-"torian) abounds in ſo many things, it pro-"duceth but little wine, that thoſe who deſire "to purchaſe her commodities may have ſome-"thing to give in exchange for them[237]." Wine, therefore, we may conclude, was both ſcarce and dear in Britain in this period, when trade was in its infancy. Mead was alſo one of the luxuries of life, and could only be procured by perſons of conſiderable opulence. Ale was the favourite liquor of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, as it had been of their anceſtors the ancient Germans[238]. Before their converſion to Chriſtianity, they believed that drinking large and frequent draughts

234 Athenæi Deipnoſoph. l. 4. c. 13. Eginhart. a Schminkio edit. p. 113.

235 Hen. Hunt. l. 6. p. 210. 236 Id. ibid.

237 Id. l. 1. p. 171. 238 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 23.

of

of ale was one of the chief felicities which thoſe heroes enjoyed who were admitted into the hall of Odin [239]: a ſufficient proof of the high reliſh which theſe nations had for that liquor. This reliſh they retained to the end of this period; and it is ſtill retained by many of their poſterity. Pigment (in Latin *pigmentum*) was one of the richeſt and moſt delicious liquors known in thoſe times; and ſo greatly admired, both in England and on the continent, that it was commonly called *nectar*. It is thus deſcribed by an ancient author:—"Pigment is a ſweet and odoriferous "liquor, made of honey, wine, and ſpiceries of "various kinds [240]." Morat was alſo eſteemed a delicacy, and was only found at the tables of the great. It was made of honey, diluted with the juice of mulberries [241]. Cyder is ſo well known, that it need not be deſcribed. Some other liquors are occaſionally mentioned in the monuments of this period; but it is not neceſſary to make this enumeration more complete [242].

Manner of ſitting at table.

Among the ancient Germans every gueſt had a ſeparate ſeat, and a little table by himſelf; but their poſterity, the Anglo-Saxons and Danes of this period, were ſeated on long benches, at large ſquare tables [243]. This appears from many

239 Bartholin. de Cauſis contemptæ apud Danos Mortis, l. 2. c. 12. p. 541. 558.

240 Joan. de Janua, Catholicum Parvum, apud du Cange, t. 5. p. 471.

241 Du Cange Gloſſ. in voc. Moratum.

242 Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 98. 243 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 22.

paſſages

paſſages in their hiſtory, and from the figure of the table at which Harold and his friends are repreſented dining in the tapeſtry of Bayeux [244]. The gueſts were not permitted to take their places on theſe benches according to their own fancies, but according to an arrangement that was exactly ſettled and ſtrictly obſerved. By the court laws of king Canute, the officers of his houſehold, and all the nobility who dined at court, are commanded to take their places at table according to their rank, and thoſe of the ſame rank according to their ſeniority in office; and if any one preſumed to take too high a place, he was degraded to the loweſt, and all the company were permitted to pelt him with bones, without being thought guilty of any rudeneſs, or liable to any challenge [245]. By the laws of Wales, which were probably copied in this particular from ſome Anglo-Saxon laws that are now loſt, the places of all the great officers who were admitted to the royal table are aſcertained with the moſt minute exactneſs [246].

Diverſions.

As perſons of rank and fortune among the Anglo-Saxons and Danes never engaged in buſineſs, and could not amuſe themſelves with reading, they neceſſarily ſpent much of their time in diverſions. Theſe were of three kinds.

244 Montfauçon Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe, t. 1. plate 35. p. 372.

245 Leges Curiales Regis Canuti, apud Bartholin. p. 533.

246 Leges Wallicæ, l. 1. paſſim.

viz.

viz.—martial exercifes,—the ſports of the field, —and domeſtic amuſements.

Martial exercifes.

War being the chief employment and great delight of the Anglo-Saxon thanes and their retainers, many of the diverſions of their youth, and even of their riper years, were of a martial caſt, conſiſting of running, ſwimming, leaping, riding, wreſtling, and fighting [247]. A young warrior thus recounts the exercifes in which he had acquired dexterity by conſtant practice: "I "fight valiantly; I ſit firmly on horſeback; I "am inured to ſwimming; I know how to run "along on ſcates; I dart the lance; and am "ſkilful at the oar [248]. The martial dance was the favourite diverſion of the ancient Germans, and of their deſcendants the Anglo-Saxons. It is thus deſcribed by Tacitus: "They have one "public diverſion which is conſtantly exhibited "at all their meetings. Young men, who by "frequent exercife have attained to great per- "fection in this paſtime, ſtrip themſelves, and "dance among the points of ſwords and ſpears "with the moſt wonderful agility, and even with "the moſt elegant and graceful motions. Theſe "young gentlemen do not perform this martial "dance for hire, but for the entertainment of "the ſpectators, whoſe applauſe they eſteem a "ſufficient reward [249]." In a word, the ancient inhabitants of Germany and Scandinavia, and the

247 Northern Antiquities, t. 1. p. 197. 248 Id. ibid. p. 238.
249 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 24.

nations deſcended from them, delighted ſo much in theſe martial exerciſes, that they imagined they conſtituted the chief amuſement and felicity of thoſe heroes who were admitted into Valhalla, the place of future happineſs. "Tell me (ſays "Gangler), how do the heroes divert themſelves when they are not engaged in drinking?" "Every day (replies Har), as ſoon "as they have dreſſed themſelves, they take "their arms, and entering the liſts, fight till "they cut one another in pieces. This is their "diverſion. But no ſooner does the hour of repaſt approach, then they remount their horſes, "all ſafe and ſound, and return to drink in "the palace of Odin[250]." Such readers as deſire to ſee a very prolix deſcription of the military dances and other martial diverſions of the ancient Danes, Anglo-Saxons, and other nations of Europe, in this period, may conſult the works quoted below[251]. It was from theſe martial diverſions that the tournaments of the middle ages, which will be delineated in our ſixth volume, derived their origin. Horſe-races may be reckoned one of the diverſions of the Engliſh in this period. Among the magnificent preſents that were made to king Athelſtan, by Adulphus, ambaſſador of Hugh king of France, when he demanded his ſiſter, the princeſs Edelſwitha, for his maſter, we are told,—"there were

250 Bartholin. p. 564.

251 Hiſtoria Olai Magni, l. 15. p. 573—585. Muratori, t. 2. Diſſertat. 29.

"ſeveral

" ſeveral running horſes, with their ſaddles, and " bits of yellow gold in their mouths[252]." This is a ſufficient proof, that ſuch horſes were admired and uſed in England at that time.

Sports of the field.

The ſports of the field were the favourite diverſions of the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and other Britiſh nations, in this period; and in theſe ſports perſons of rank and fortune ſpent the greateſt part of their time when they were not engaged in war. Such rural diverſions were admirably adapted to give delight to a people of great activity and ſpirit, who enjoyed much leiſure, and lived conſtantly in an open country, abounding in game of all kinds, which ſeemed to ſolicit their purſuit. Accordingly they conſidered hawking and hunting as the two principal branches of a royal and noble education, the moſt admired accompliſhments, and moſt honourable employments of kings and princes. Alfred the Great was taught to hunt before he was taught to read; and his friend and hiſtorian Aſſer ſpeaks of his ſuperior ſkill in all the ſports of the field in a kind of rapture! " Before he was twelve " years of age, he was a moſt expert and active " hunter, and excelled in all the branches of that " moſt noble art, to which he applied with in- " ceſſant labour and amazing ſucceſs. For his " felicity in hunting, as well as in all the other " gifts of God, was really incomparable, as I " myſelf have often ſeen[253]." Edward the Con-

252 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 6.

253 Aſſer. Vita Ælfredi, a Camden. edit. p. 5.

feſſor's

feſſor's fondneſs for theſe exerciſes of hunting and hawking is thus deſcribed by his hiſtorian: "There "was only one diverſion in which he took the "greateſt poſſible delight, viz. to follow a pack "of ſwift hounds in purſuit of their game, and "to cheer them with his voice, or to attend the "flights of hawks taught to purſue and catch their "kindred birds. Every day, after divine ſervice, "he took the field, and ſpent his time in theſe "beloved ſports[254]." The figure of a hawk upon the left hand was the mark by which the painters of thoſe times diſtinguiſhed perſons of high rank, of both ſexes, from their inferiors; which is a ſufficient proof, that their fondneſs for, and frequent uſe of that bird, was univerſally known[255]. So great a value did the princes and nobility of Europe in this period ſet upon their hawks, that they conſtantly carried them with them in all their journies, and ſometimes into battle, and would not part with them, even to procure their own liberty, when they were taken priſoners[256]. The truth is, to reſign his hawk was one of the moſt diſhonourable actions of which a nobleman could be guilty, and was conſidered as a voluntary reſignation of his nobility. Dogs of ſport of all kinds were alſo the favourites and conſtant companions of the great in this period; and a prodigious number

254 W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 13.

255 Memoires des Inſcriptions, t. 9. p. 542. 256 Id. ibid.

of laws were made to prevent their being killed or ſtolen [257].

Game laws.

When kings, princes, and nobles, took ſo much delight in the diverſions of the field, we may be almoſt certain, that they endeavoured to ſecure them to themſelves, and to prevent their inferiors from ſharing with them in the pleaſure of thoſe admired amuſements. Of this we have the cleareſt evidence, in the foreſt or game laws of Canute the Great, which are ſtill extant. By theſe laws, certain magiſtrates or judges are appointed in every county to take cogniſance of all treſpaſſes committed within the limits of the royal foreſts; and certain inferior officers or gamekeepers are conſtituted to apprehend thoſe who were guilty of ſuch treſpaſſes. Thanes, biſhops, and abbots, are permitted to hunt in the king's chaces; but the penalties and puniſhments inflicted on unqualified perſons who were guilty of hunting, or even diſturbing the game, are very ſevere. By one of theſe laws, if a gentleman, or inferior thane, killed a ſtag in a royal foreſt, he was degraded, and deprived of his arms; if a ceorl killed one, he was reduced to ſlavery; and if a ſlave killed one, he was put to death. By another of theſe laws, all proprietors of lands are declared to have a right to hunt within their own lands; but not to purſue their game into any of the royal chaces [258].

257 Lindenbrog p. 384, 385—435, 436. Leges Wallicæ, p. 249, &c.

258 Conſtitutiones Canuti Regis de Foreſta, apud Spelman. Gloſſ. p. 140, 141, 142. Wilkin. Leges Saxon. p. 146.

Though

Though the martial and rural ſports above deſcribed enabled the kings, princes, and nobles, of this period, to ſpend a conſiderable part of their time in a very agreeable manner; yet as theſe ſports could only be purſued in the day-time, in favourable weather, and when they were in health, they ſtood in need of ſome domeſtic diverſions to fill up the remainder of their vacant hours. Theſe domeſtic diverſions were the more neceſſary, becauſe very few were then capable of amuſing themſelves with reading, writing, and ſtudy; and becauſe they were not furniſhed with various topics of converſation,—with public ſpectacles,—and with other ingenious arts of killing time, which have been ſince invented. It was probably ſuch circumſtances as theſe that rendered the ancient Germans, the anceſtors of the Anglo-Saxons, ſo immoderately fond of games of chance. "At dice they play, "which is wonderful, when they are perfectly "cool and ſober, with ſuch keenneſs and temerity, "that after they have loſt all their money and "goods, they venture their very perſons and liber-"ties on one deſperate throw. He who loſeth "tamely ſubmits to ſervitude; and though both "younger and ſtronger than his antagoniſt, pa-"tiently permits himſelf to be bound and ſold "in the market. This madneſs they dignify with "the name of *honour*[259]." We have good reaſon to believe, that ſimilar circumſtances produced ſimilar effects in their deſcendants the Anglo-Saxons

Domeſtic games.

[259] Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 24.

in England in this period, though not perhaps in ſuch an extreme degree; becauſe the church diſcouraged games of chance, and prohibited the uſe of them to the clergy[260]. When biſhop Ætheric obtained admiſſion to Canute the Great about midnight, upon ſome urgent buſineſs, he found the king and his courtiers engaged at play, ſome at dice, and others at cheſs[261]. When a young nobleman applied to a father for permiſſion to pay his addreſſes to his daughter, the parent, it is ſaid, commonly made a trial of his temper, by playing with him at dice and cheſs, before he gave him an anſwer[262]. The game of backgammon, it is pretended, was invented in Wales in this period, and derives its names from the two Welſh words, *bach*, "little," and *cammon*, "battle[263]." But it is quite unneceſſary to be more particular in our enumeration of theſe domeſtic amuſements, of which many are probably quite forgotten and loſt.

260 Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 960. can. 64.
261 Hiſt. Ramſienſ. a Gale edit. c. 85.
262 Hiſt. Olai Magni, p. 572.
263 Gloſſ. ad Leges Wallicas, a voc. Tawlbwrdd.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND BOOK.

NUMBER I.

A map of Britain according to the Saxon Chronicle.

NUMBER II.

The Saxon names of Places in the preceding map, in alphabetical Order, with an explanation of their meaning, and their preſent English names *.

Saxon Names.	*Meaning* †.	*Engliſh Names.*
A		
Abban-dún	Abbey-hill	Abingdon, Berks
Ace-man's-ceaſter	Sick-man's-city	Bath, Somerſetſh.
Ac-lea	Oak-field	Okeley, Surry
Acſan-minſter	Ax-abbey	Axminſter, Devon
Ædwines-clife	Edwin's rock	Not certainly known
Ægeles-byrig	Egel's-town	Ailesbury, Bucks
Ægeles-ford	Egel's-ford	Ailesford, Kent
Ægeles-wurthe	Egel's-worth	Eclesworth, Northampt.
Ælfet-éé	Elfet's-iſland	Not certainly known

* I once intended to have ſubjoined a commentary to this alphabetical catalogue of the names of places, explaining the reaſons of the meanings given to theſe names, and producing authorities in ſupport of theſe reaſons; but this became ſo voluminous, that it could not be inſerted.

† When the meaning is unknown or uncertain, the original word is put in this column.

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Ælm	Elm	Elm, in Ely
Æſcet-dun	Aſh-hill	Aſton, Berks
Æſc-tun	Aſh-town	Aſhton, Northampt.
Æſt-fild	Eaſt-field	Eaſt-field, Northampt.
Æſt-tun	Eſt-town	Eaſton, Northampt.
Ætſing-ſtoce	Etſing's-ſtock	Taviſtock, Devon
Æthan-dun	Ethan's hill	Eddington, Wiltſh.
Æthelbrighte's minſter	Ethelbert's church	In Hereford
Æthelhund-iglond	Ethelhun's iſland	Not known
Æthelinga-dene	Nobles'-valley	Alton, Hampſh.
Æthelinga-igge	Noble's-iſland	Athelney, Somerſetſh.
Afene	Avon	Avon river
Afene-mouth	Avon-mouth	Avon's-mouth
S. Albane	St. Alban	St. Alban's, Hertfordſh.
Aldewingle	Old-winkle	Oldwinkle, Northampt.
Ambreſbyri	Amber's-town	Amberſbury, Wiltſh.
Ancar-ig	Hermit's-iſland	Thorney-iſle, Cambridgeſh.
Andeſira	Andeſira	Andover, Hampſh.
Andredes-leag	Andred's paſture	The Weald, Kent
Andred-ceaſter	Andred's city	Not certainly known
Angel-cynnes-lond	Angles-nation-land	England
Angles-ege	Angles-iſland	Angleſey
Apuldre	The Sea-march	Appledore, Kent
Arundel	Arundel	Arundel, Suſſex
Arwan	Arwan	River Orwel
Aſſan-dun	Aſs-hill	Aſſington, Eſſex
S. Auguſtine's-minſter	St. Auguſtine's church	St. Auſtin's, Canterbury

B

Baccanceld	Baccanceld	Beckenham, Kent
Baddan-byrig	Baddan's-town	Badbury, Dorſetſh.
Badecan-willa	Badecan's-well	Bakewell, Derbyſh.
Barwe	Barwe	Barrow, Rutlandſh.
Baſing	A mantle	Baſing, Hampſh.
Bathan-ceſter	Bathing-city	Bath, Somerſetſh.
Beam-dune	Beam-hill	Bampton, Devonſh.
Beam-fleot	Beam-bay	Bemflete, Eſſex
Bearthanig	Bearthanig	Bardney, Lincolnſh.
Bearwiec ſcire	Box-diviſion	Berkſhire
Bebbanburh	Bebba's-town	Bamburgh, Northumberland
Bedan-ford	Bedan's-ford	Bedford
Bedan-ford-ſcire	Bedan's-ford-diviſion	Bedfordſhire
Bedan-heafde	Bedan's-head	Bedwin, Wiltſh.
Benefica	Benefica	A river in Hertfordſh.
Benning-tun	Benning's-town	Bennington, Hertfordſh.

Beofer-

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Beofer-lic	Beaver-like	Beverly, Yorkſh.
Beorc-lea	Birch-field	Barkley, Gloceſterſh.
Beorg-ford	Hill-ford	Burford, Oxfordſh.
Beornicas	People of Bernicia	Bernicians, or Northumbrians
Beran-byrig	Beran-town	Banbury, Oxfordſh.
Bolhithe-goat	Bolhithe's-gate	Bulldikegate, Peterborow
Boſenham	Wood-houſe	Boſham, Suſſex
Bradan-æ	Broad-river	Not known, Cambridgeſh.
Bradan-relic	Broad-iſland	Stepholme, in the Severn
Bradan-ford	Broad-ford	Bradford, Wiltſh.
Bricenan-mere	Bricenan's-pool	Bricknockmere, near Bricknock
Brædine	Broad-valley	Bredon-foreſt, Wiltſh.
Brent-ford	Brent-ford	Brentford, Middleſex
Breodune	Bread-hill	Not known
Breodun	Bread-hill	Breidon, Worceſterſh.
Briten-lond	Briton's-land	Britain
Brig-ſtow	Bridge-place	Briſtol
Brigge	Bridge	Bridgenorth, Shropſh.
Brunanburh	Brown-town	Uncertain
Buccingaham	Beech-tree-town	Buckingham
Buccingaham-ſcire	Beech-tree-town diviſion	Buckinghamſhire
Burh	Town or city	Peterburgh, Northamptonſh.
Burnewudu	Burnt-wood	Bernwood-foreſt, Bucks
Butting-tun	Near-river-town	Buttington, Shropſh.
Byferes-ſtan	Beavers-ſtone	Beverſton, Gloceſterſh.
Byrtune	Bear-town	Burton, Staffordſh.

C

Cære	Care	Carehouſe, Northumb.
Calne	Calne	Calne, Wiltſh.
Caninganmerſes	Caningans-marſhes	Canington, Somerſetſh.
Cant-wara-burh	Kentiſhmen's-town	Canterbury.
Carleol	Carleol	Carliſle, Cumberland
Carrum	Carrum	Charmouth, Dorſetſh.
Caſtra	Camp	Caſtor, Northamptonſh.
Cealc-hythe	Chalk-port	Uncertain
Ceaſter	Camp	Weſt-Cheſter
Cent	Cent	Kent
Ceorles-ige	Ceorls iſland	Chertſey, Surry
Cerdices-ford	Cerdic's-ford	Charford, Hampſh.
Cerdices-leag	Cerdic's-field	Chardſley, Buckinghamſh.
Cerdicesora	Cerdic's-ſhore	Charmouth, Dorſetſh.
Cice	Chich	St. Oſythe, Eſſex
Cingeſtun	King's-town	Kingſton, Surry
Ciſſaceaſter	Ciſſa's-city	Chicheſter, Suſſex

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Cleuceaſter	Clew-city	Glouceſter
Cleftun	Cliff's-town	Clifton, Dorſetſh.
Clitern	Clitern	Chilternhills, Oxfordſh.
Clive	Cliff	Clyff, Northamptonſh.
Cloveſhooh	Cloveſhoe	Abingdon, Berkſhire
Colne	Colne	River Colne, Eſſex
Colneceaſter	Colne-city	Colcheſter, Eſſex
Coludeſburh	Coluds-city	Coldingham, Merſe
Corfe's-geate	Corf's-gate	Corfecaſtle, Purbecke
Coſham	Choice-houſe	Coſham, Wiltſh.
Coſterford	Tempter's-ford	Cosford, Warwickſh.
Cotingham	Coting's-houſe	Cottingham, Northamptonſh.
Couentre	Couentre	Coventry, Warwickſh.
Cræcelade	Creek's-ſtream	Creeklade, Wiltſh.
Crecianford	Creek's-ford	Crayford, Kent.
Crediantun	Credy-town	Kirton, Devonſh.
Croyland	Croyland	Crowland, Lincolnſh.
Cumbralond	Cumbre's-country	Cumberland
Cevichelmes-hleawe	Cuechelm's-mount	Cuckamſley-hill, Berks.
Cymencs-ora	Cymen's-ſhore	Cimenſhore, Suſſex
Cynemæresford	King's-famous-ford	Kempsford, Gloceſterſh.
Cynet	Kenet	Kennet, Wiltſh.
Cyninges clife	King's cliff	Unknown, Northumb.
Cyppanham	Merchant-town	Chippenham, Wiltſh.
Cyrenccaſter	Ceres-city	Cerenceſter, Gloceſterſh.
Cyricbyrig	Church-town	Cherbury, Shropſh.
D		
Dæg-ſtan	Degſa's-ſtone	Dawſton, Cumberland
S. David	St. David's	St. David's, Pembrokeſh.
Deoraby	Deer's-place	Derby
Deorham	Deer's-home	Durham, Gloceſterſh.
Derawuda	Deer's-wood	Beverly, Yorkſh.
Dodeſthorp	Dod's-farm	Doſtroy, Northamptonſh.
Domuc	Domuc	Dunwich, Suffolk
Doreceaſter	Water-city	Dorcheſter, Oxfordſh.
Driffelda	Dry-field	Driffield, Yorkſh.
Dunſtaple	Hill-ſtaple	Dunſtable, Bedfordſh.
Dunholdm	Hill and valley	Durham
E		
Eadeſbyrig	Eades-town	Eddeſbury, Cheſh.
Eadmundeſbyrig	Edmund's-town	Bury, Suffolk
Eadulfes-næſſe	Edulf's-point	Neſs, Eſſex
Eaſt Engle	Eaſt England	Cambridgeſh. Suffolk, Norfolk

Eaſt

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Eaſt-Seaxe	Eaſt-Saxony	Eſſex, &c.
Egbrightes-ſtan	Egbright's-ſtone	Brixton, Wiltſh.
Ege	The eye	Eye, Northamptonſh.
Egoneſham	Egon's-home	Enſham, Oxfordſh.
Ellendun	Strong-hill	Wilton, Wiltſh.
Elig	Eel-iſle	Ely
Englafilda	Engliſh-field	Inglefield, Berks
Englaland	Engliſh-land	England
Eofer-wic	Urie-caſtle	York
Eſendic	Eſen's-dike	Aſſendike, Cambridgeſh.
Eſtun	Eaſt-town	Eaſton, Leiceſterſh.
Eueſham	Eves's-home	Eveſham, Worceſterſh.
Exan-ceaſter	Ex-city	Exeter, Devonſh.
Exan-muth	Ex-mouth	Exmouth, Devonſh.
F		
Fauresfeld	Fore-field	Feverſham, Kent
Fearndun	Fern-hill	Farringdon, Berks
Fearnham	Fern-place	Farnham, Surrey
Fethanleag	Army-field	Frithern, Gloceſterſh.
Fenchamſtede	Fincham's-ſtead	Finchamſted, Berks
Folces-ſtan	People's-ſtone	Folkſton, Kent
Fromuth	Froom-mouth	Pool, Dorſetſh.
Fullanham	Foul-town	Fulham, Middleſex
G		
Gaful-ford	Toll-ford	Camelford, Cornwall
Gegneſburgh	Tribe's-town	Gainſburrow, Lincolnſh.
Gildeneburgh	Gilded-town	Peterburrow
Gillingaham	Gillings-home	Gillingham, Dorſetſh.
Glaſtingbyri	Glaſs-town	Glaſſenbury, Somerſetſh.
Grantebridge	Grant's-bridge	Cambridge
Grena-wic	Green-town	Greenwich, Kent
Gypes-wich	Gipping's-town	Ipſwich, Suffolk
H		
Hefe	High	Hiefild
Heſtingas	Daniſh-town	Haſtings, Suſſex
Haguſtaldeſham	Heſtild-town	Hexham, Northum.
Ham-tun	Home-town	Northampton, Southampton
Hamtun-ſcyre	Home-town-diviſion	Hampſhire
Heamſtide	Home-ſtede	Hamſted, Berks
Hean byrig	Poor-town	Swineſhead, Hunt.
Heat-fild	Hot-field	Hatfield, Hertfordſh.
Hengeſteſdun	Hengiſt's-hill	Hengſtonhill, Cornw.

Heort-

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Hcort-ford	Hart's-ford	Hertford
Heortford-ſcyre	Hart's-ford-diviſion	Hertfordſh.
Here-ford	Army's-ford	Hereford
Hereford-ſcyre	Army's-ford-diviſion	Herefordſh.
Hethfild	High-field	Hatfield, Yorkſh.
Hlida-ford	Lid's-ford	Lidford, Devonſh.
Hocneratun	Hocneratown	Hogſnorton, Oxfordſh.
Hreopan-dun	Crying-hill	Repton, Derbyſh.
Hrippun	Harveſt-town	Rippon, Yorkſh.
Hrofes-ceaſter	Covered-caſtle	Rocheſter, Kent
Humber	Humber	River Humber
Hundhoge	Hounds-houſe	Huncot, Leiceſterſh.
Huntendune	Hunters-downs	Huntington
Huntendune-ſcyre	Hunters-down-diviſion	Huntingtonſh.
Hweallæge	Whale-iſle	Whaley, Lancaſhire
Hwerewille	Whirl-well	Whorwell, Hampſh.
Hwit-cerc	White-church	White-church, Hampſh.
Hwiterne	White-place	Whittern, Gallaway
Hyrtlingberi	Farmers-town	Irtlington, Northampt.
Hythe	Haven	Hyth, Kent
I		
Icanhoe	Icanhoe	Boſton, Lincolnſh.
Idle	Empty	Rivulet Idle, Nottinghamſh.
Iglea	Iſland-field	Unknown
Ircingafild	Ircing's-field	Archinfield, Herefordſh.
K		
Ketering	Ketering	Kettering, Northampt.
Kyntlingtun	Kyntling's-town	Kirtlington, Oxfordſh.
L		
Lambhythe	Clay-haven	Lambeth, Surry
Lægeceaſter	Legion-city	Weſt-Ceſter
Legerceaſter	Leire-city	Leiceſter
Lægreceaſterſcyre	Leire-city-diviſion	Leiceſterſhire
Licetfild	Corps-field	Litchfield, Staffordſh.
Liga	Liga	The river Lea.
Ligtun	Lame-town	Leighton, Bedfordſh.
Limenemuth	Lime-mouth	Lime, Kent
Lincolne	Lake-colony	Lincoln
Lincolneſcyre	Lake-colony-diviſion	Lincolnſhire
Lindesfarna-ea	Lind-people's-iſle	Holy-iſland
Lindeſige	Marſh-iſle	Lindſey, Lincolnſh.
Lothene	Army-province	Lothian, Scotland

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Lundine	Lundine	London
Legeanburh	Lea-town	Leighton, Bedfordſh.
M		
Mældun	Croſs-hill	Maldon, Eſſex
Mænige	Man-iſland	Angleſey
Mærlebeorge	Marle-town	Marlborough, Wiltſh.
Malveiſin	Bad-neighbour	Bamborow-caſtle
Manigceaſter	Many-caſtle	Mancheſter, Lancaſh.
Maſerfild	Merchant-field	Ofwiſtre, Shropſh.
Mealdelmeſbyrig	Maildelm's-town	Malmſbury, Wiltſh.
Medeſhamſtede	Whirlepool-place	Peterburg, Northamptonſh.
Medigwæg	Fair-river	River Medway
Merantun	Mire-town	Merton, Surry
Mereſige	March-iſland	Marſey, Eſſex
Michaelſtow	Michael's-place	St. Michael's-mount, Cornw.
Middel-Anglas	Middle-Engliſh	Warwickſh. Staffordſh. &c.
Middel-Seaxe	Middle-Saxony	Middleſex
Middel-tun	Middle-town	Middleton, Eſſex
Muntgumni	Gomer's-mount	Montgomery
N		
Næſſe	The point	Neſs-point, Kent
Natanleag	Natan's-field	Natly, Hampſh.
Nen	Nen	River Nen, Northampt.
S. Neod	St. Neot's	St. Neot's, Huntingdonſh.
Northburh	North-town	Norbury, Northampt.
North-folc	North-people	Norfolk
Northumtun	North-home-town	Northampton
North-muth	North-mouth	Buoy in the Nore
Northan-hymbras	North-humbrians	Northumbrians
Northan-hymbra-land	North-humber-land	Northumberland
North-wealas	North-Welſh	People of North-Wales
North-wic	North-caſtle	Norwich
O		
Olan-ege	Olan's-iſland	Olney
Ottan-ford	Ottan's-ford	Orford, Kent
Oxnaford	Oxen's-ford	Oxford
Oxnafordſcyre	Oxen's-ford-diviſion	Oxfordſhire
P		
Paſſanham	Paſſan's-home	Paſham, Northampt.
Paſtun	Paſs-town	Paſton, Northampt.
Peaclond	Peak-land	The Peak, Derbyſh.

Pedridan

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Pedridan	Pedridan	Parret-river, Somerſetſh.
Pen-wight-ſtreot	Head-iſland-point	The Land's-end, Cornw.
Peonho	Head-heel	Pen, Somerſetſh.
Peveneſea	Peven-ſea	Pemſey, Suſſex
Perſeora	Pers-ſhore	Perſhore, Worceſterſh.
Pencanheal	Pencan's-hall	Finkley, Durham
Port	The Port	Portland, Dorſetſh.
Porteloca	Harbour-bar	Portlock-bay, Somerſetſh.
Porteſmouth	Harbour's-mouth	Portſmouth, Hampſh.
Poſſenteſbyrig	Poſſent's-town	Ponteſbury, Shropſh.
Pruntesflod	Privet's-flood	Prevet, Hampſh.

R

Raculf	Roe's-cliff	Reculver, Kent
Reading	Flint-meadows	Reading, Berkſh.
Rihala	Rough-hall	Ryall, Rutlandſh.
Rogingham	Roging's-home	Rockingham, Northampt.
Rugenore	Rugged-ſhore	Rowner, Hampſh.
Rumcofa	Roomy-cave	Runkhorn, Cheſh.
Rumenſea	Spacious-ſea	Rumney, Kent
Rumeſige	Roomy-iſland	Rumſey, Hampſh.

S

Sæferne	Sea-flowing	River Severn
Sandwic	Sandy-port	Sandwich, Kent
Scæfteſbyrig	Shaft's-town	Shafteſbury, Dorſetſh.
Sceapige	Sheep's-iſland	Sheppey, Kent
Sceobyrig	Shoe-town	Shobery, Eſſex
Sceraburn	Clear-burn	Sherburn, Dorſetſh.
Scotland	Scotch-land	Scotland
Scrobbeſby	Shrub-town	Shroeſbury
Sealwudu	Willow-wood	Selwood, Somerſetſh.
Searbyrig	Sharp-river-town	Saliſbury, Wiltſh.
Sec-candun	Battle-hill	Seckington, Warwickſh.
Seletun	Seal-town	Silton, Yorkſh.
Sempigaham	Sempiga's-home	Sempringham, Lincolnſh.
Sliowaford	Sliowa's-ford	Sleaford, Lincolnſh.
Snawdun	Snow-hill	Snowdon hills
Snotingaham	Cave-town	Nottingham
Snotingaham-ſcyre	Cave-town-diviſion	Nottinghamſhire
Soccabyrig	Soke-town	Stockburn, Durham
Stæfford	Staff-ford	Stafford
Stæfford-ſcyre	Staff-ford-diviſion	Staffordſhire
Stane	Stone	Stains, Middleſex
Stanford	Stone-ford	Stamford, Lincolnſh.

Stan-

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Stanfordeſbryege	Stone-ford-bridge	Stamford-bridge
Stanwic	Stone-town	Stanwixs, Northampt.
Streonſheale	Beacon-bay	Whitby, Yorkſh.
Stretford	Street-ford	Stratford, Warwickſh.
Sturemuth	Stour-mouth	Harwich
Sumurtun	Summer-town	Sumerton, Somerſetſh.
Sumerſetſcyre	Summer-ſeat diviſion	Somerſetſhire
Sythberi	South-town	Sudbury, Suffolk
Suth-folc	South-people	Suffolk
Suthrig	South-river-country	Surry
Suth-Seaxe	South-Saxony	Surry and Suffolk
Swanwic	Swaine-town	Swanwick, Hampſh.
Swineſhæfed	Swine's head	Swineſhead, Huntingdonſh.
T		
Tamanweorthege	Tame-farm-iſland	Tamworth, Staffordſh.
Tame	Tame	Tame, Oxfordſh.
Tantun	Twig-town	Taunton, Somerſetſh.
Temeſe	Water-tract	The river Thames
Temesford	Thames-ford	Temsford, Bedfordſh.
Tenet	Tenet	The iſle of Thanet, Kent
Thælwæle	Stake-wall	Thelwell, Cheſh.
Theodford	People's ford	Thetford
Thorneic	Thorny-iſle	Thorney, Cambridgeſh.
Thorp	The village	Thorpe, Northamptonſh.
Trokenholt	Drag-boat wood	Trokenhole, Cambridgeſh.
Tina	Tina	River Tyne, Northumb.
Tinamuth	Tina's-mouth	Tinmouth, Northumb.
Tofceaſter	Tof caſtle	Toceter, Northampt.
Tonebridge	Town-bridge	Tunbridge, Kent
Treonta	Crooked-river	The river Trent
Turceſige	Boat-iſland	Torkſey
Tweonea	Two-burn-town	Chriſt-church, Hampſh.
U		
Undale	Undivided	Oundle, Northampt.
Uſa	Water	River Ouſe
W		
Wærham	Incloſed-town	Warham, Dorſetſh.
Wæringwic	Fortified-town	Warwick
Wæringſcyre	Fortified-town-diviſion	Warwickſhire
Wætlingſtræt	Beggars-ſtreet	Watling-ſtreet
Waltun	Wall-town	Walton, Northampt.
Wealingford	Wall-ford	Wallingford, Berkſh.

Wealtham

Saxon Names.	*Meaning.*	*Engliſh Names.*
Wealtham	Wood-town	Unknown
Weardbyrig	Guard-town	Wardborow, Oxfordſh.
Wecedport	Weced's-harbour	Watchet, Somerſetſh.
Welmesfort	Sole-foot-ford	Walmsford, Northampt.
Weolud	Weolud	River Welland
Wermingtun	Warm-town	Warmington, Northampt.
Weſtmoringland	Weſt-mountain-land	Weſtmorland
Weſtmynſter	Weſt-monaſtery	Weſtminſter
Weſt-Seaxe	Weſt Saxon	Kingdom of Weſſex
Weſtanwudu	Weſtern wood	Weſtwood, Wiltſh.
Wetmor	Wet-moor	Wedmore, Somerſetſh.
Webbandun	Worm-hill	Wimbletun, Surry
Wegeraceaſter	War-caſtle	Worceſter
Wegeraceaſterſcyre	War-caſtle-diviſion	Worceſterſhire
Wegengamere	War-mere	Wigmore, Herefordſh.
Wihtland	Creature-land	Iſle of Wight
Wihtgarabyrig	Wightgar's-town	Careſbrook-caſtle
Wiltun	Willow-town	Wilton, Wiltſh.
Wiltonſcyre	Willow-town-diviſion	Wiltſhire
Windleſora	Winding-ſhore	Windſor
Wintanceaſter	Venta caſtle	Wincheſter
Winwidfild	Victory-field	Near Leeds
Wirhealc	Myrtle-corner	Wirral, Cheſh.
Wiſebec	Wiſe-book	Wiſbech
Witham	Near-town	Witham, Eſſex
Withringtun	Withring's-town	Wirrington, Northampt.
Witleſmere	Wittleſey-mere	Withſmere, Cambridgeſh.
Wodneſbeorge	Woden's-town	Wodenſburgh, Wiltſh.
Wudeſtoke	Wood-place	Woodſtock, Oxfordſh.
Wudiham	Woody-town	Odiam, Hampſh.
Wippedsfleot	Wipped's-frith	Wippedsfleet, Kent.

NUMBER III.

A ſpecimen of the moſt ancient Anglo-Saxon laws, tranſlated from the original Saxon into Engliſh *.

The laws of Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, who reigned from A. D. 561 to A. D. 616.

No. III.

1. LET ſacrilege be compenſated twelvefold; the theft of the goods of a biſhop, elevenfold; of the goods of a prieſt, ninefold; of thoſe of a deacon, ſixfold; of thoſe of a clerk, threefold; the violation of the peace of a church, twofold; and that of a monaſtery, twofold.

2. If the king call an aſſembly of his people, and any damage be done to them there, let it be repaid twofold, and fifty ſhillings be paid to the king.

3. If the king is at an entertainment in any one's houſe, and any damage be done there, let it be compenſated twofold.

4. If a freeman ſteal any thing from the king, let him compenſate it ninefold.

5. Let him that killeth a man in the city of the king be amerced in fifty ſhillings.

6. Let him that killeth a freeman pay fifty ſhillings to the king for his loſs of a ſubject.

7. If any one kill the ſervants of the king's maſter-ſmiths or butler, let him pay the ordinary mulct.

8. Let the violation of the king's patronage be compenſated with fifty ſhillings.

* See the original Saxon, with a Latin tranſlation and notes, in Wilkin. Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 1—7.

9. If

No. III.

9. If a freeman ſteal any thing from a freeman, let him repay it threefold; let a mulct be impoſed, and all his goods confiſcated to the king.

10. If a man lie with the king's maid-ſervant, being a virgin, let him compenſate her virginity with fifty ſhillings.

11. If ſhe be a grinding-maid, let the compenſation be twenty-five ſhillings; if of the third rank, twelve.

12. Let the violation of the chaſtity of the king's victualling-maid be compenſated with twenty ſhillings.

13. Let him that killeth a man in the city of an earl be amerced in twelve ſhillings.

14. If a man lie with a maid that is an earl's cup-bearer, let him compenſate her virginity with twelve ſhillings.

15. Let the violation of the patronage of a yeoman be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

16. Be the violation of the chaſtity of a maid that is a yeoman's cup-bearer compenſated with ſix ſhillings; that of a yeoman's other maid-ſervant, with fifty ſcætas; and of thoſe of the third rank, thirty ſcætas.

17. Let him that firſt breaketh into another man's houſe be amerced in ſix ſhillings, the ſecond in three ſhillings, and each of the reſt in one ſhilling.

18. If any one lend a man arms where there is a quarrel, though no harm be done thereby, let him be amerced in ſix ſhillings.

19. If a robbery be committed, be it compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

20. But if a man be killed, let the murderer compenſate his death with twenty ſhillings.

21. If a man kill another, be the ordinary mulct of an hundred ſhillings impoſed upon him.

22. If

22. If a man kill another at an open grave, let him compenſate his death with twenty ſhillings, beſides the ordinary mulct, which he muſt pay within forty days. No. III.

23. If the homicide fly his country, let his relations pay half the ordinary mulct.

24. Let him that bindeth a freeman make a compenſation of twenty ſhillings.

25. Let the murderer of a yeoman's gueſt compenſate his death with ſix ſhillings.

26. But if the landlord killeth his chief gueſt, let him compenſate his death with eighty ſhillings.

27. If he kills the ſecond, let him make a compenſation of ſixty ſhillings; if the third, of forty.

28. If a freeman cut down a hedge, let him make a compenſation of ſix ſhillings.

29. If a man take away a thing kept within a houſe, let him compenſate it threefold.

30. If a freeman break over a hedge, let him make a compenſation of four ſhillings.

31. Let him that killeth a man make compenſation, according to the true valuation, in current money.

32. If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife, let him make amends for his crime, by buying another wife for the injured party.

33. If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him compenſate the ſame.

34. If he catches him by the hair, let him pay fifty ſcætas.

35. If the bone appear, let him make a compenſation of three ſhillings.

36. If the bone be hurt, let him make a compenſation of four ſhillings.

37. If the bone be broke, let him make a compenſation of ten ſhillings.

No. III.

38. If both be done, let him make a compenſation of twenty ſhillings.

39. If the ſhoulder be lamed, be it compenſated with twenty ſhillings.

40. If he is made deaf of an ear, let twenty-five ſhillings compenſate it.

41. If the ear be cut off, be it compenſated with twelve ſhillings.

42. If the ear be bored through, let three ſhillings be the compenſation.

43. If the ear be clipped off, be ſix ſhillings the compenſation.

44. If the eye be ſtruck out, let fifty ſhillings compenſate it.

45. If the mouth or eye be injured, let twelve ſhillings make a compenſation.

46. If the noſe be bored through, let nine ſhillings be the compenſation.

47. If but one membrane is bored, be three ſhillings the compenſation.

48. If both, be ſix ſhillings the compenſation.

49. If both noſtrils are ſlit, let each be compenſated by ſix ſhillings.

50. If bored, by ſix ſhillings.

51. Let him that cutteth off the chin-bone make a compenſation of twenty ſhillings.

52. For each of the four fore-teeth be compenſated ſix ſhillings; for the one that ſtands next, four ſhillings; for the next, three ſhillings; and for each of the reſt, one ſhilling: if it be an impediment to his ſpeech, be twelve ſhillings compenſated; and if the jaw-bone be broke, ſix ſhillings.

53. Be the bruiſing of a man's arm compenſated with ſix ſhillings, and the breaking of it with ſix ſhillings.

54. If

54. If the thumb be cut off, let it be compenſated with twenty ſhillings; the nail of the thumb, with three ſhillings; the fore-finger, with eight ſhillings; the mid-finger, with four ſhillings; the ring finger, with ſix ſhillings; the little finger, with eleven ſhillings. No. III.

55. For each nail, a ſhilling.

56. For the leaſt blemiſh, three ſhillings; and for greater ones, ſix ſhillings.

57. If any one give another a blow on the noſe with his fiſt, three ſhillings.

58. If it be wounded, one ſhilling.

59. If the ſtroke be black without the clothes, let it be compenſated with thirty ſcætas; if within the clothes, with twenty ſcætas.

60. If the diaphragm be wounded, let it be compenſated by twelve ſhillings, if bored, by twenty.

61. If one is made to halt, let it be compenſated by thirty ſhillings.

62. If one wound the callus, let thirty ſhillings be the recompence.

63. If a man's privy member be cut off, let it be compenſated by thrice the ordinary mulct; if it is bored, by ſix ſhillings; if cut, by ſix ſhillings.

64. If a man's thigh be broke, let twelve ſhillings be the recompence; if it is lamed, let the friends judge.

65. If a rib be broke, let it be compenſated with three ſhillings.

66. If the thigh be pricked, for every prick be paid ſix ſhillings; if it be an inch deep, one ſhilling; if two inches, two ſhillings; if above three inches, three ſhillings.

67. If a vertebra be wounded, let it be compenſated with three ſhillings.

No. III.

68. If the foot be cut off, with fifty ſhillings.

69. If the great toe be cut off, with ten ſhillings.

70. For each of the reſt of the toes, be paid half the price, as is enacted of the fingers.

71. Let thirty ſcætas compenſate the nail of the great toe, and ten ſcætas each of the reſt.

72. If a free-woman, wearing her hair, do any thing diſhonourable, let her compenſate it by thirty ſhillings.

73. Let the compenſation of a virgin be the ſame as that of a freeman.

74. Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family be compenſated by fifty ſhillings; of the next, with twenty; of the third, by twelve; and of the fourth, by ſix.

75. If a man marry a widow who is not at her own diſpoſal, let him twice compenſate the violated patronage.

76. If a man buy a maid with his money, let her ſtand for bought, if there is no fraud in the bargain; but if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaſer's money reſtored him.

77. If ſhe bring forth any live iſſue, let her have half of the man's goods, if he die firſt.

78. If ſhe has a mind to depart with her children, let her have the half of his eſtate.

79. If the huſband will keep his goods, he muſt keep his children.

80. If ſhe have no iſſue, let her relations have the goods and the dowry.

81. If a man take a maid by force, let him pay fifty ſhillings to her firſt maſter, and afterwards redeem her, according to his pleaſure.

82. If

82. If ſhe be before betrothed to another, let him make a recompence of twenty ſhillings. No. III.

83. If ſhe be with child, let him pay thirty-five ſhillings, and fifteen ſhillings to the king.

84. If a man lie with the wife of a ſervant, while her huſband is alive, let him make a double recompence.

85. If a ſlave kill another ſlave, being innocent, let him compenſate his death with all his ſubſtance.

86. If a ſervant's eye and foot be ſtruck off, let it be compenſated.

87. If a man bind another's ſervant, let him make a recompence of ſix ſhillings.

88. Let the robbing of a ſervant be compenſated with three ſhillings.

89. If a ſervant ſteal any thing, let him reſtore the ſame double.

NUMBER IV.

Catalogue, Latin and Engliſh, of the works of Venerable Bede, printed at Cologne, A. D. 1612, in eight volumes folio *.

VOLUME FIRST *contains*,

1. CUNABULA grammaticæ artis, Donati. No. IV.
The rudiments of the grammatical art, according to Donatus.

2. De octo partibus orationis, liber.
Of the eight parts of ſpeech, one book.

* I have taken the catalogue of Bede's works from the Cologne edition of A. D. 1612, becauſe it is the only complete one I have had an opportunity of conſulting.

No. IV.

3. De arte metrica, liber.
Of the metrical art, one book.
4. De ſcematibus ſcripturæ, liber.
Of the figures in ſcripture, one book.
5 De tropis ſacræ ſcripturæ, liber.
Of the tropes in holy ſcripture, one book.
6. De orthographia, liber.
Of orthography, one book.
7. De arithmeticis numeris, liber.
Of arithmetical numbers, one book.
8. De computo, dialogus.
Of computation, a dialogue.
9. De diviſionibus temporum, liber.
Of the diviſions of time, one book.
10. De arithmeticis propoſitionibus.
Of arithmetical propoſitions.
11. De ratione calculi.
Of the ratio of calculation.
12. De numerorum diviſione.
Of the diviſion of numbers.
13. De loquela per geſtum digitorum, libellus.
Of ſpeaking by the motion of the fingers, a ſmall book.
14. De ratione unciarum, libellus.
Of the ratio of ounces, a ſmall book.
15. De argumentis lunæ.
An argument concerning the moon.
16. Ephemeris, ſive computus vulgaris.
The ephemeris, or vulgar computation.
17. De emboliſmorum ratione computus.
The ratio of calculating intercalations.
18. Decennovenales circuli.
Of the cycle of nineteen years.

19. De

No. IV.

19. De cyclo paſchali.
Of the paſchal cycle.

20. De mundi cœleſtis terreſtriſque conſtitutione, liber.
Of the conſtitution of the celeſtial and terreſtrial world, one book.

21. De muſica theorica.
Of theoretical muſick.

22. De muſica quadrata, ſeu menſurata.
Of the quadrature, or menſuration of muſick.

23. De circulis ſphæræ et poli.
Of the circles of the ſphere and pole.

24. De planetarum et ſignorum cœleſtium ratione.
Of the ratio of the planetary and celeſtial ſigns.

25. De tonitruis, libellus.
Of thunder, a ſmall book.

26. Prognoſtica temporum.
Prognoſtics of the ſeaſons.

27. De menſura horologii, libellus.
Of the menſuration of a ſun-dial, a ſmall book.

28. De aſtrolabio, libellus.
Of the aſtrolabe, a ſmall book.

29. De nativitate infantium, libellus.
Of the nativity of infants, a ſmall book.

30. De minutione ſanguinis, libellus.
Of blood-letting, a ſmall book.

31. De ſeptem mundi miraculis, libellus.
Of the ſeven wonders of the world, a ſmall book.

32. Hymni.
Hymns.

33. De ratione computi, libellus.
Of the ratio of computation, a ſmall book.

No. IV.

VOLUME SECOND *contains*,

34. De natura rerum, liber.
Of the nature of things, one book.

35. De temporum ratione, liber.
Of the ratio of times, one book.

36. De ſex ætatibus mundi, ſive chronica, libellus.
Of the ſix ages of the world, a chronicle, a ſmall book.

37. De temporibus, liber.
Of times, one book.

38. Sententiæ ex Ariſtotele.
Sentences out of Ariſtotle.

39. Sententiæ ex Cicerone, ſive axiomata philoſophica.
Sentences out of Cicero, or philoſophical axioms.

40. Proverbiorum, liber.
Of proverbs, one book.

41. De ſubſtantiis.
Of ſubſtances.

42. Περὶ διδαξεων, ſive elementorum philoſophiæ, libri quatuor.
Of doctrines, or the philoſophy of elements, four books.

43. De Paſchæ celebratione, ſive de æquinoctio vernali, liber.
Of the celebration of Eaſter, or of the vernal equinox, one book.

44. De divinatione mortis et vitæ, epiſtola.
Of the foretelling of life and death, an epiſtle.

45. De arca Noe.
Of Noah's ark.

46. De linguis gentium.
Of the languages of nations.

47. Sibyllina oracula.
Sybilline oracles.

VOLUME

No. IV.

VOLUME THIRD *contains*,

48. Gentis Anglorum eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, libri quinque.
The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Engliſh nation, five books.

49. Epitome ejuſdem hiſtoriæ.
Abridgment of the ſame hiſtory.

50. Vita D. Cuthberti.
The life of St. Cuthbert.

51. Vita D. Felicis.
The life of St. Felix.

52. Vita D. Vedaſti.
The life of St. Vedaſt.

53. Vita de Columbani.
The life of St. Columban.

54. Vita D. Attalæ.
The life of St. Attala.

55. Vita D. Patricii, libri duo.
The life of St. Patrick, two books.

56. Vita D. Euſtaſii.
The life of St. Euſtatius.

57. Vita D. Bertolfi.
The life of St. Bertolf.

58. Vita D. Arnolfi.
The life of St. Arnolf.

59. Vita D. Burgundoforæ.
The life of St. Burgundofora.

60. Juſtini martyrium, carmine.
The martyrdom of Juſtin, a poem.

61. Martyrologium.
A martyrology.

62 De ſitu urbis Hieruſalem.
Of the ſituation of the city of Jeruſalem.

63. In-

No. IV.

63. Interpretatio nominum Hebraicorum et Græcorum in Sacris Bibliis.
An interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek names in the Holy Bible.

64. Excerptiones et collectanea quædam.
Certain excerpts and collections.

VOLUME FOURTH *contains,*

65 Hexameron.
On the six days creation.

66. In Geneſin expoſitio.
Explanation of Geneſis.

67 In Exodum explanatio.
Explanation of Exodus.

68. In Leviticum explanatio.
Explanation of Leviticus.

69. In librum Numeri explanatio.
Explanation of the book of Numbers.

70. In Deuteronomium explanatio.
Explanation of Deuteronomy.

71. In Samuelum prophetam allegorica expoſitio, libri quatuor.
An allegorical explanation of the prophet Samuel, four books.

72. In libros Regum quæſtiones.
Queſtions on the books of Kings.

73. In Eſdram et Neemiam prophetam, allegorica expoſitio, libri tres.
An allegorical explanation of the prophets Eſdras and Nehemiah, three books.

74. In librum Tobiæ expoſitio allegorica.
An allegorical explanation of the book of Tobit.

75. In

No. IV.

75. In Jobum expoſitio, libri tres.
Explanation of Job, three books.

76. In parabolas Salomonis expoſitio, libri tres.
Explanation of the Proverbs of Solomon, three books.

77. In Cantica Canticorum expoſitio. libri ſeptem.
Explanation of the Song of Songs, ſeven books.

78. De tabernaculo et vaſis ejus, ac veſtibus ſacerdotum, libri duo.
Of the tabernacle and its utenſils, and of the veſtments of the prieſts, two books.

VOLUME FIFTH *contains,*

79. In Matthæum expoſitio, libri quatuor.
Expoſition on St. Matthew, four books.

80. In Marcum expoſitio, libri quatuor.
Expoſition on St. Mark, four books.

81. In Lucam expoſitio, libri ſex.
Expoſition on St. Luke, ſix books.

82. In Joannem expoſitio.
Expoſition on St. John.

83. In Acta Apoſtolorum expoſitio.
Expoſition on the Acts of the Apoſtles.

84. De nominibus locorum vel civitatum, quæ in libro Actuum Apoſtolorum leguntur.
Of the names of places and cities mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles.

85. In D. Jacobi epiſtolam expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. James.

86. In primam D. Petri epiſtolam expoſitio.
Expoſition on the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter.

87. In

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87. In ſecundam ejuſdem epiſtolam expoſitio.
Expoſition on the ſecond epiſtle of the ſame.

88. In primam B. Joannis epiſtolam expoſitio.
Expoſition on the firſt epiſtle of St. John.

89. In ſecundam ejuſdem epiſtolam expoſitio.
Expoſition on the ſecond epiſtle of the ſame.

90. In tertiam ejuſdem epiſtolam expoſitio.
Expoſition on the third epiſtle of the ſame.

91. In epiſtolam Judæ Apoſtoli expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Jude.

92. In Apocalypſim Joannis Apoſtoli explanatio.
Expoſition on the Revelations of St. John.

VOLUME SIXTH *contains,*

93. Retractationes in Actus Apoſtolorum.
Retractations on the Acts of the Apoſtles.

94. Quæſtiones in Acta Apoſtolorum, ſex.
Six queſtions on the Acts of the Apoſtles.

95. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Romanos, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans.

96. In epiſtolam Pauli priorem ad Corinthios, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

97. In epiſtolam Pauli poſteriorem ad Corinthios, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the ſecond epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

98. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Galatas, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Galatians.

99. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Epheſios, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Epheſians.

No. IV.

100. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Philippenſes, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Philippians.

101. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Coloſſenſes, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Coloſſians.

102. In epiſtolam Pauli in priorem ad Theſſalonicenſes, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to the Theſſalonians.

103. In epiſtolam Pauli poſteriorem ad Theſſalonicenſes, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the ſecond epiſtle of St. Paul to the Theſſalonians.

104. In epiſtolam Pauli primam ad Timotheum, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to Timothy.

105. In epiſtolam Pauli ſecundam ad Timotheum, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the ſecond epiſtle of St. Paul to Timothy.

106. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Titum, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to Titus.

107. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Philemonem, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to Philemon.

108. In epiſtolam Pauli ad Hebræos, expoſitio.
Expoſition on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews.

109. Aniani epiſtola ad Evangelum, preſbyterum.
Epiſtle of Anianus to Evangelus, a preſbyter.

110. Joannis Chryſoſtomi epiſtola de laudibus beati Pauli Apoſtoli.
Epiſtle of John Chryſoſtom, in praiſe of the bleſſed Apoſtle Paul.

No. IV.

VOLUME SEVENTH *contains*,

111. Homiliæ æſtivales de tempore, triginta tres.
Thirty-three ſummer-homilies for the ſeaſons.

112. Homiliæ æſtivales de ſanctis, triginta duæ.
Thirty-two ſummer-homilies on the ſaints.

113. Homiliæ hyemales de tempore, quindecim.
Fifteen winter-homilies for the ſeaſons.

114. Homiliæ quadrageſimales, viginti duæ.
Twenty-two homilies for Lent.

115. Homiliæ hyemales de ſanctis, ſedecim.
Sixteen winter-homilies on the ſaints.

116. Sermones ad populum varii.
Sundry ſermons to the people.

117. Scintillæ, ſive loci communes.
Sparks, or common places.

118. De muliere forti, libellus.
Of the ſtrong woman, a ſmall book.

119. De officiis, libellus.
Of morals or duties, a ſmall book.

120. Fragmenta quædam in Libros Sapientiales, et Pſalteri verſus aliquot.
Fragments on the Book of Wiſdom, and ſome verſes of the Pſalms.

VOLUME EIGHTH *contains*,

121. De templo Salomonis, liber.
Of the temple of Solomon, one book.

122. De ſex dierum creatione, liber.
Of the ſix days creation, one book.

123. Quæſ-

123. Quæſtiones ſuper Geneſim.
Queſtions on Geneſis.

124. Quæſtiones ſuper Exodum.
Queſtions on Exodus.

125. Quæſtiones ſuper Leviticum.
Queſtions on Leviticus.

126. Queſtiones ſuper librum Numeri.
Queſtions on Numbers.

127. Quæſtiones ſuper Deuteronomium.
Queſtions on Deuteronomy.

128. Quæſtiones ſuper librum Jeſu Nave.
Queſtions on Joſhua.

129. Quæſtiones ſuper librum Judicum.
Queſtions on Judges.

130. Quæſtiones ſuper librum Ruth.
Queſtions on Ruth.

131. Quæſtiones ſuper quatuor libros Regum.
Queſtions on the four books of Kings.

132. Quæſtionum variarum, liber.
Of various queſtions, one book.

133. In Pſalmorum librum commentaria.
Commentaries on the book of Pſalms.

134. Vocabulorum Pſalterii expoſitio.
Expoſition of the words of the Pſalms.

135. Sermo de eo, quod in Pſalmis legitur, "Dominus de cœlo proſpexit," &c.
A ſermon on this paſſage in the Pſalms,—"The Lord looked down from heaven."

136. In Boethii librum de Trinitate, commentarius.
Commentary on the book of Boethius on the Trinity.

137. De

No. IV. 137. De ſeptem verbis Chriſti, oratio.
An oration on the ſeven words of Chriſt.
138. Meditationes paſſionis Chriſti per ſeptem dici horas.
Meditations on Chriſt's paſſion, for ſeven hours of the day.
139. De remediis peccatorum.
Of the remedies of ſins.

Beda, beſides all the above works, was the author of ſeveral other tracts which have been publiſhed, and of ſome which are ſtill in MS *. This ſufficiently proves, that, conſidering the times in which he flouriſhed, and the manifold diſadvantages under which he laboured, he was one of the moſt ſtudious and ingenious men that this iſland ever produced.

* See Biographia Britannica, t. 1. p. 651, 652.

NUMBER V.

The Lord's Prayer, in the Anglo-Saxon and other kindred languages, derived from the ancient Gothic or Teutonic.

1. Anglo-Saxon.

No. V. URen Fader thic arth in Heofnas. 1. Sie gehalgud thin Noma. 2. To cymeth then Ryc. 3. Sie thin Willa ſue is in Heofnas, and in Eortho. 4. Uren Hlaf oferwiſtlic ſel us to daeg. 5. And forgefe us Scylda urna, ſue we forgefan Scyldgum urum. 6. And no inlead uſig in Cuſtnung. 7. Ah gefrig uſich from Iſle. Amen.

2. FRANCO-

No. V.

2. Franco-Theotisc.

Fater unſer thu thar biſt in Himile. 1. Si geheilagot thin Namo. 2. Queme thin Rihhi. 3. Si thin Willo, ſo her in Himile iſt o ſi her in Erdu. 4. Unſar Brot tagalihhaz gib uns huitu. 5. Inti furlaz uns nuſara Sculdi ſo unir furlazames unſarou Sculdigon. 6. Inti ni gileiteſt unſih in Coſtunga. 7. Uzouh arloſi unſi fon Ubile. Amen.

3. Cimbric.

Fader uor ſom eſt i Himlum. 1. Halgad warde thitt Nama. 2. Tilkomme thitt Rikie. 3. Skie thin Vilie, ſo ſom i Himmalam, ſo och po Iordanné. 4. Wort dachlicha Brodh gif os i dagh. 5. Ogh forlat os uora Sculdar, ſo ſom ogh vi forlate them os Skildighe are. 6. Ogh inled os ikkie i Freſtal ſan. 7. Utan frels os ifra Ondo. Amen.

4. Belgic.

Onſe Vader die daer zijt in de Hemelen. 1. Uwen Naem worde gheheylight. 2. U Rijcke kome. 3. Uwen Wille gheſchiede op der Aerden, geljick in den Hemel. 4. Onſe dagelijckt Broodt gheeft ons heden. 5. Ende vergheeft ons onſe Schulden, ghelijck wyoock onſe Schuldenaren vergeven. 6. Ende en leyt ons niet in Verſoeckinge. 7. Maer verloſt ons vanden Booſen. Amen.

5. Frisic.

Ws Haita duu derſtu biſte yne Hymil. 1. Dyn Name wird heiligt. 2. Dyn Rick tokomme. 3. Dyn Wille moet ſchoen, opt Yrtryck as yne Hymile. 4. Ws deilix Bræ jov ws jwed. 5. In verjou ws, ws Schylden, as wy vejac ws Schyldnirs. 6. In lied ws nact in Verſieking. 7. Din fry us vin it Quæd. Amen.